

P R E F A C E

T O

BELLENDENUS.

BEFORE THE

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A
FREE TRANSLATION
OF THE *Br Samuel Parr's*
P R E F A C E
T O
BELLENDENUS; K
CONTAINING
ANIMATED STRICTURES
ON THE
GREAT POLITICAL CHARACTERS
OF THE
PRESENT TIME.

Ἄπαντες μὲν αἱ γλῶσσαι λεγῶσι, ἀξίως δ' εἰπεῖν οὐδεὶς δύνανται.

DEMOSTHENES.

Passim arma et corpora, et laceri artus, cruenta humus, et aliquando
etiam victis ira virtusque.

TACITUS.

Was it for me the dark abyſs to tread,
And read the book which many cannot read.

DRYDEN.

L O N D O N:

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IN PICCADILLY.

M.DCC.LXXXVIII.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

IF the learned Author of the following Preface, had condescended to favour the Public with his name, motives of delicacy would have restrained us from translating it without the express sanction of his approbation. As he has not done this, we may indeed indulge conjecture concerning him; but conjecture is in its very nature vague, and of necessity it is often fallacious.

It would, however, be invidious and malignant to suppose that any man delivers sentiments in a dead
A language,

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language, which he will not avow, or which he cannot vindicate, in his own. We will not therefore believe that, with respect to the Editor of BELLENDENUS, we have any resentment to deprecate: we are even inclined to hope that he will expect no farther apology from us than we are ready to make, from the consciousness of not having rendered adequate justice to his taste, his erudition, and his genius.

ALTHOUGH we may venture to claim some commendation for our diligence, we are not reluctant to confess that this our youthful progeny has not animal strength sufficient to undergo the severity of inquisitional tortures. *Ab iis autem qui*
multa

ADVERTISEMENT. vii

multa ingeniis donanda putant, we are secure of complacency and candour. From others who, not being able to enjoy the original picture of a master, are content to possess even an inferior copy, some acknowledgment is due to exertions made with a view to their gratification and benefit.

WE therefore dismiss our performance with a mixture both of fear and hope: of fear, not so great as to depress; of hope, sufficiently temperate.

THE Dedications introduced in the work of BELLENDENUS, have no immediate connection with the Preface. But they claim attention from

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their energy and elegance ; and the persons to whom they are addressed are so prominent in the political picture before us, and so conspicuous in our annals, that it would be injurious to the Editor, the Public, and ourselves, not to insert translations of them.

DEDICA

DEDICATIONS,

MR. BURKE,

WITH respect suitable to the occasion,
This Book is inscribed to
EDMUND BURKE;
A man most peculiarly distinguished
By learning alike elegant and extensive;
By those nobler energies of mind,
Acute to invent, prompt to explain,
Fruitful to adorn:
Who has consistently and constantly deserved
From Science,
Which meed alone he himself has found
To defy every vicissitude
Of place and time;
From the Senate,
Which, when menaced by danger, considered him
Its pride and its support;
Lastly, from this our country
(To its most affectionate citizens,
Alas! not always generous or just)
All that can be conferred
Of honour or of gratitude.

L O R D

L O R D N O R T H .

IN testimony of the profoundest reverence,
Attachment, and admiration,
This book is dedicated to the most honourable
FREDERICK LORD NORTH,
Who, in that species of eloquence
Steady to its object, whilst temperate in its means,
Is confessedly unrivalled;
Who, in every social intercourse of life,
Preserves the truest dignity,
Neither tinged with gloom, nor debased by severity,
But marked by affability
And the sweetest humour;
Who, possessing claims to the partial regards
Of the first both of men and citizens,
With simple and unaffected candour
Has shewn himself able
To forget enmities;
Who, when deserted by the faithless train
Of ungrateful followers,
Suffered no resentment to pursue them;
Who, in defending the laws and constitution of
his country,
Was uniformly vigilant;
Who, in times replete with danger,
And involving his own security,
Rested unappalled
On the noble consciousness of Virtue.

MR.,

[Mr.]
Mr. F O X.

WITH becoming sentiments of reverence

This book is inscribed to

CHARLES JAMES FOX;

Because he has not only cultivated

The purest and most accomplished eloquence,

But applied it, in all its perfection,

To the safety and dignity of his country;

Because, in contracting either

Friendships or enmities,

He has always shewn himself

In the former immutable, placable in the latter;

Because, with a mind

Firm, consistent, invincible,

He has continued steady to his principles,

Disdaining the resentments of wicked men;

Because, in a business

Obviously claiming the public regard,

He conducted himself,

Not as the insidious followers of popularity,

But with perseverance and with fortitude;

Because, lastly,

In that most dishonourable shipwreck

Of a most excellent and sagacious Senate,

He deemed that, and that only, to be afflicting,

Which he knew to be base.

To

To be the noble guardian of the public weal,
 In conjunction with virtuous men,
 Was to him far more estimable
 Than an union with those who were unprincipled,
 Pregnant with danger, perfidy, and avarice*.

* *Cupidus*, in the *Latin* dedication, may be applied either to avarice or ambition.



P R E F A C E

T O

BELLENDENUS.

THE Three Books which this volume contains, written by Bellendenus, have long been remarkably scarce*. We have recovered them from the dust and darkness of libraries; we have taken pains to render them both more deserving of

* I. 'DE STATU PRISCI ORBIS in Religione, Re politica, et Litteris.' II. 'CICERONIS PRINCEPS; five, De Statu Principis et Imperii.' III. 'CICERONIS CONSUL, SENATOR, SENATUSQUE ROMANUS; five, De Statu Reip. et Urbis Imperantis Orbis.'

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public attention, and more easily attainable: we indulge therefore the well-grounded hope that our diligence will receive the grateful acknowledgments of the learned.

CONCERNING the writer himself, and the order in which these works originally appeared, we have subjoined a few remarks at the conclusion of this Preface. They perhaps will not altogether satisfy those, who themselves pursue, and who estimate somewhat too highly, a certain fastidiousness of reading. Yet we beg leave to assure even them, that from the text and margin of the present edition, we have removed a profusion of errors which had crept into the former. All those passages which appear to have received the particular attention of Bellendenus himself, we have sedulously examined. We have been farther solicitous that this edition should deserve praise from its accuracy in particular, as well as from the general perspicuity and neatness of the impression.

BELLENDENUS began and had made considerable progress in another work, intitled,

tled, 'De Tribus Luminibus Romanorum*,' of which every man the least conversant with books has heard. He who has seen, and whose vigilant endeavours to possess it have proved successful, is certainly to be reckoned amongst the few, who have a taste for rare and valuable books. That part of the work which has fallen into our hands, treats of Cicero alone. It is written in a style of the purest Latinity, and indeed, we may say, almost verbatim in the language of Cicero himself.

WHEN such and so great a man led the way, the public expectation might justly enough be high, respecting the other two whom Bellendenus proposed to connect with Cicero, as the companions of his studies and partners of his fame. Our most diligent endeavours to discover who they were, for a long time ended in disappointment. We had at length the good fortune to meet with some individuals of most profound learning, who satisfied us that our author intended to complete his work by treating

* The Three Ornaments of Rome.

of Seneca and the Elder Pliny. It is easy to collect from his performance, that, whatever author he chose either to praise, or to imitate in his own appropriate language, he possessed a fund of words adequate to his purpose. The death of the writer prevented the accomplishment of the excellent scheme he had in view: to him indeed death came not immaturally; but no good nor scientific man can sufficiently lament the circumstance. Fortune envied us, perhaps, the extensive and valuable fruits of those studies, in which he had been so long and so successfully employed. For Bellen- denus himself, death was fortunate and happy: his providential removal from the world prevented his seeing Britain consumed by the flames of war; our nobles indulging an animosity fatal to their country; the rights of the church injuriously trampled upon; the untimely deaths of the most virtuous citizens; the execrable murder of the sovereign; the decay and almost utter ruin of that city, which he wished his Royal Patron to adorn and improve by the splendour of a Henry's virtues.

A PRE-

A PREJUDICE had long existed, and was progressively gaining ground amongst the learned, that Middleton, in composing his Life of Cicero, had greatly enriched his work from the splendid stores of Bellendenus. It was asserted that, the better to conceal his theft, he had been careful not to give the name of Bellendenus, amongst the various writers whom he regularly professes to mention, with grateful acknowledgments of assistance. Zealous as I constantly had been to proclaim the praise of Middleton, I confess that such intimations excited my resentment. I was ever in the habits of thinking that decisions to the prejudice of so great a character, required the extremest diffidence and caution. I was also well convinced of the acuteness of literary envy, of the indiscriminating avidity with which the ignorant listen to such tales; how retentive the idle and officious are in the remembering of trifles, and how industrious in the propagation of calumny. Experience also teaches, that they who refuse their belief, will give their attention, whenever an attempt is made to detract from those, who are more eminently distinguished by

their scientific attainments. On the nature of these suspicions directed against the fame of Middleton, I had often and seriously reflected with myself, and disputed with others. I constantly found that they who hated Middleton the most, were least of all able to satisfy me. Titius, for instance, suspected, because Caius had suspected before; Sempronius was of opinion that, many years since, he had either read so in some book which he could not remember, or had heard some learned person make assertion to that effect. Very few indeed had seen the work of Bellendenus; and not one, except Mr. Warton, had ever been at the pains to compare it with Middleton's performance. Having however myself collated the two compositions with fidelity and diligence, I am at length able to speak decisively on the subject. Middleton was a man of no common attainments: his learning was elegant and profound, his judgment acute and polished; he had a fine and correct taste; and his style was so pure and so harmonious, so vigorously flowing without being inflated, that, Addison alone excepted, he seems to me without a rival. As to his
mind,

mind, I am compelled with grief and reluctance to confess it was neither ingenuous nor faithful.

OF human fidelity, in matters of a sacred nature, I presume not to speak with asperity or anger: yet am I vehemently displeased that a man, possessed of an elegant and enlightened mind, should deprive Bellendenus of the fame he merited. For I assert, in the most unqualified terms, that Middleton is not only indebted to Bellendenus for many useful and splendid materials, but that, wherever it answered his purpose, he has made a mere transcript of his work. He resided at Cambridge, where he possessed all the advantages which that university and all its valuable libraries afford, to make collections for his undertaking. Yet did the man* who proposed a System for the Regulation of a University Library, possess the writings of Bellendenus, anticipating all that he professed to accomplish. I cannot deny but that he makes some allusion to this particular work of Bellendenus in his Preface, although in

* Middleton, vol. iii.

a very dark and mysterious manner; particularly where he speaks of the History of those Times, which whoever wishes to understand minutely, has only to peruse Cicero's Epistles with attention; of the tediousness of being obliged to peruse Cicero's works two or three times over; of the care and trouble of conforing, and arranging for future use, various passages scattered through the different volumes; and, above all, of the very words of Cicero, which give both a lustre and authority to a sentiment, when woven originally into the text.

To conclude the whole—whatever Middleton ostentatiously declares it to be his wish and his duty to do, had been already done to his hands, faithfully and skilfully, by Bellendenus, from the beginning of the work to its final conclusion.

THERE is extant a very pleasant dialogue written by Stephen Forcatulus, 'De Raptu Animorum,' in which he severely reprehends literary thefts. Thomafius has also published a book on the same subject; to
which,

which, in the opinion of Morhofius*, much may be added. If any one shall hereafter choose to republish either of these books, he will be the instrument of branding Middleton with the same kind of infamy, which is deservedly attached to the memories of Salmasius, Lipsius, Wouwerius, and other plagiarists of distinguished abilities and learning. Of his posthumous reputation, who professed to be the friend and guardian of Tully's fame, I will speak once for all in the words of that illustrious Roman:—Of Middleton 'we will forbear to make farther mention; what we have said has been 'reluctantly, and without the smallest portion of malignity†.'

With respect to the Three Books, in my opinion, their intrinsic merit sufficiently justifies their introduction to the Public. I have no doubt but they will amply recommend themselves to every more intelligent person, as well from the dignity of the subject they discuss, as from their perspicuous mode of argumentation, their beauty

* Morhof. lib. i. cap. 5. † Philipp. 8.

of sentiment, their variety and elegance of style.

BELLENDENUS has, in the first, brought to light, from the most remote antiquity, many curious facts which had been buried in the gloomy darkness of oblivion. Whatever relates to the discipline of the Persians and Egyptians, which was obscure in itself, and very variously dispersed, he has carefully collected, placed in one uniform point of view, and polished with diligent acuteness. In a manner the most plain and satisfactory, he has described the first origin of states, their progressive political advances, and how they differed from each other. Those fabulous inventions with which Greece has encumbered history, he explains and refutes. — Philosophy owes him much. He has confuted all those systems which were wild and extravagant, and removed the difficulties from such as were in their operation subservient to religious piety. But he has in particular confirmed and dignified, with every assistance of solid argument, what-
ever

ever tended to serve the great truths of revelation. Much, however, as he has been involved in the gloom of ancient times, he in no one instance assumes the character of a cold unfeeling antiquarian: he never employs his talents upon those intricate and useless questions, in endeavouring to explain which, many luckless and idle Theologists torment themselves, and lose their labour. The style of Bellendenus, in this performance, is perspicuous, and elegant without affectation. The different parts of the work are so well and so judiciously disposed, that we meet with nothing harsh or dissonant, no awkward interval or interruption, nothing placed where it ought not to remain.

IN the second book he shews, that whoever desires to exercise authority over others, should first of all learn the government of himself; should remember and be obedient to every thing which the laws command; should, on all occasions, be ready to hear the sentiments of the wise; disdaining whatever bears affinity to corruption, and abhorring the delusions of flattery:

flattery : he should be tenacious in preserving his dignity, and cautious how he attempts to extend it ; he should be remarkable for the purity of his morals, and the moderation of his conduct ; and never direct his hand, his eye, or his imagination, to that which is the property of another,

WITH respect to the duty of a senator—upon what basis the rights of a free but jealous people are suspended—the hallowed care those institutions demand, which have descended to us from our ancestors—of these subjects Bellendenus treats in his third book ; and it is very difficult to determine whether his matter or his language most dignify and adorn each other,

OF those Three Ornaments of Britain to whom this edition is dedicated, we make no scruple of declaring, that we both think and speak with honour*. In one of these characters we have seen the traits of a for-

* The Three Books of Bellendenus, enumerated page 1, are respectively dedicated, by the Editor, to Mr. Burke, Lord North, and Mr. Fox,

tune most singularly opposite. Formerly, when he rose to speak, the Senate listened in the stillest silence ; but now, although his eloquence be pure and soft as the snows of winter, he cannot, but with difficulty, obtain attention. When I consider the extreme indignity, indeed I may say atrociousness, of such conduct, the beautiful language which Paterculus* has applied to Drusus, often presents itself to my mind. ' He found the senate inimical to those measures of which their own good was evidently the object. Such indeed was the singular fortune of Drusus, that the senate listened with greater complacency to those whose motives might be suspected, than to him whose wisdom and virtue were conspicuous. The honour which he conferred upon their body, they disdain- ed ; but what was aimed against their security by others, they bore with equanimity.' His superior lustre they were unable to support, but they allowed the more moderate claims of his opponents.

* Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 13.

T H E R E

THERE is a man who has a great command of words, esteemed by the vulgar a first-rate orator, simply from his celerity of speaking. Whatever his followers may say, will not deter me from speaking what I think of the eloquence of Burke. Athens was the parent and patroness of science; but an Athenian audience would have listened with delight to Burke; would have admired his inventive copiousness of diction; would have thought the goddess *Suada** herself enthroned upon his lips.

THERE were some amongst the Romans who considered a dry style†, and poverty of sentiment, as Attic, provided the language was polished, courtly, and elegant; and who disdained the lofty, magnificent, copious style of oratory. But many who prided themselves on their taste, their learning, and their judgment, were ignorant of the gradations, the inequalities, and variety of Attic eloquence. Cicero‡ himself was, by some, insolently termed diffuse, Asiatic, and tumid. In these days also there are

* Cic. Brut. † Cic. Brut. ‡ Quint. xii. cap. 8.

not wanting those who insinuate that Burke is destitute both of energy and modulation. I am proud to speak a different language : I do not hesitate to aver, that such affected sentiments proceed from an inability to bear the lustre of his eloquence. He who imitates Burke, may be assured that his model is marked by Attic excellence; he who hears him with delight, may be satisfied that his own progress in literature is far from contemptible.

THAT man requires no studied panegyric as to his moral character, whose manners are conciliating and agreeable, and whose actions are directed by the rules of virtue. But the rectitude and integrity of Burke have been so obviously conspicuous, that, defying all scrutiny into his own, he may be justified in exacting a rigorous account of another's conduct.

THE second character of whom I would speak, has not enjoyed a fortune correspondent to his integrity or his genius. Great as are his claims to praise, our admiration is principally attracted to the firmness with
which

which he supported adversity ; to the dignity which, in the midst of danger and of difficulty, he preserved pure and undiminished.

CICERO has remarked, with a degree of truth which experience corroborates, that the most momentous changes of circumstances frequently take place in the shortest periods of time ; both as to affairs of policy and of war, but more particularly in civil contentions ; which are not only influenced, but almost entirely governed, by fame and by opinion.

LORD NORTH possesses great natural acuteness, which he has improved by art and experience. With considerable dignity, he unites those powers of wit which are both agreeable in adorning a narration, and particularly fertile and happy in exciting ridicule. His memory is rich in the knowledge of antiquity, and happy in applying it to his purpose. His speeches distinguish him as an individual most amiably resolved to bear with the infirmities and follies of mankind ; and often has his polished urbanity

nity restrained the ill-humour and asperity of others. His style, though not much ornamented, is certainly not mean; he comprehends a subject readily, and explains it with success. It is not his smallest praise, that he not only says all that is necessary to his purpose, but that he never says more. Upon all occasions he discerns the proper limit, and would rather conclude to avoid exciting tediousness, than hazard the failure of obtaining attention, by speaking too long. Considering him as a Civilian, we cannot think him deficient in any one quality necessary to form the politician. To these accomplishments of the orator, possessed from nature, or acquired by diligence, is added, the genuine and the greatest love of his country, whose ancient forms and discipline he not only understands to admiration, but defends, whenever they become subject matter of dispute, with vigour and with firmness.

If we investigate more minutely the character of his mind, we shall have occasion to observe, that when in possession of the highest dignity, and opposed by a powerful competitor, he conducted himself with

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the extremest moderation. We shall find him steady in his attachments, placable when offended, successful in inspiring that confidence which he never disappointed; never using his power to the depression of the weak; without the very appearance of criminality; unless it be imputed to him, that, in the prosecution of the American war, he did not keep pace with the ardour of public expectation.—That war, originally occasioned by measures in which he had no concern, was undertaken by him with hesitation and reluctance. All resistance being ineffectual, he was impelled to arms—to arms already stained with unexpiated blood—by the combined efforts of the Sovereign, the Senate, and the People.

HE has left us an impressive but melancholy example, how little the remembrance of past liberality benefits the generous donor; but how essentially noble minds may be injured by incautious credulity, and the imputation of imagined criminality. He possesses, however, in the sacred recesses of his heart, what enables him to support with complacency the heaviest oppressions of calamity. Whenever, with conscious rectitude,
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his memory dwells on that acrimony of reproach, which has pursued his character; whenever he calls to mind the faithlessness, the ingratitude, of that gaudy tribe, whom he led by the hand to honours and to wealth; he will remember also, and exclaim in the language of Lycurgus, ‘What manner of citizen do you suppose me to be, who, having so long conducted public affairs, have perhaps given money for the prevention of injustice, but never received any thing to promote it?’

My third illustrious character possesses a mind great and lofty, and at the same time full of candour and simplicity; who alone claims the singular merit of excelling in every species of eloquence.

BUT as on this subject there are a variety of sentiments, both amongst the vulgar, and amongst men who have obtained some small tincture of learning; I shall discuss it somewhat more at large, and with all the perspicuity I am able.

I HAVE seen many orators discomposed and distracted from their extreme solici-

tude in the choice of words*. But the mind of Mr. Fox is so continually exercised in the contemplation of various subjects, that the expressions most appropriate to each, seem to present themselves spontaneously. He well knows that there is no word without its own peculiar force and propriety; so that many which, abstractedly considered, may seem mean and vulgar, acquire, from his application of them, consequence and beauty. If the occasion demand it, he can at pleasure adopt ornament, or energy, with every variety of modulation. He has the faculty of expressing the most difficult things with a certain ease and perspicuity, which does not appear the result of previous meditation. Whilst he speaks, he communicates universal animation. Every one who hears him, participates his spirit; and is impressed, not as by the mere image and representation of things, but as if interested by the view of present and new-created objects; the qualities therefore of ardour and of energy no one can deny him. Some there are, however, who, from a disposition hard to be satisfied, declare that he is en-

* Quint. lib. xii. cap. 10.

tirely destitute of those happier powers of oratory, which skilfully select and display the more florid beauties of eloquence; but these inferior, though pleasing ornaments, he avoids from judgment, not from their difficulty of attainment. Those sentiments which are introduced with propriety, and expressed with a force which captivates attention and impresses conviction, have, upon recollection or perusal, an appropriate beauty; not perhaps gaudy or meretricious, but what Cicero admires as genuine and permanent.

MR. Fox possesses one admirable distinction; he is never known to violate the purity of the English idiom. Many who, in their attempts to shine, introduce foreign expressions—and, disdaining the unaffected language of simplicity, acquire a strange and offensive dialect—are overpowered by his raillery, conveyed in the chaste terms of his own language. He well knows that the oratory which is obscure, can never be admired: he knows also, that those expressions which convey most information, have always most dignity, and frequently most beauty. He is sensible, withal, that

the thunder of his eloquence can never be successfully employed, unless under the direction of a certain regulated force; for which reason he sometimes uses such full continuity of expression, as seems in a manner to disdain the preciseness of connection, but in reality defies the torture of the severest criticism. Sometimes he separates his speech into minuter sentences, which have nevertheless a certain order and rhythm. In these instances he may be thought negligent, but they excite no prejudice against him; they mark a man more solicitous to satisfy the judgment, than captivate the ear. Yet is he particularly careful not to maim or weaken his sentences: he never violently inserts pompous but unmeaning words, to fill up, as it were, some cavity. He never fatigues and oppresses the attention by vain and idle ornaments; a subterfuge which the judgment rejects with all possible disdain. He is consequently neither diffuse nor confused, neither impotent nor disjointed.

WHEN he is about to conclude, he varies his powers with uncommon dexterity; and is either open, or reserved, as circumstance requires.

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So much has Mr. Fox been benefited by thought, and by experience, that his knowledge appears to extend to every place; and he not only perceives in a moment what is worthy his pursuit, but he discerns where it is to be obtained: to which we should add, that he is perfectly familiar with all the forms of law, the subtleties of logic, and the application of both. Whenever any subject involving them is to be discussed, we have to admire his genius and sagacity; he can either explain or discuss them copiously, or dispute minutely and perspicuously concerning them. What is separate and disjointed, he can connect and contract; what is abstract and obscure, he can scientifically unfold: not with imperfect, unconvincing hesitation; not by the aid of pompous and ostentatious language; but in a manner prompt, clear, satisfactory; and in terms adapted to every judgment, and intelligible to the meanest capacity.

IF he does not forcibly impress his audience at the commencement of his speeches, his strong and varied power, as

he proceeds, progressively rouses and fixes attention. His introductory skirmishes, if we may so term them, are so contrived—not for insulting parade, in imitation of the Samnites, who did not use in battle the spears which they brandished before—but so as to be of the greatest advantage to his purpose, when he appears more particularly anxious after victory. When strenuously pressed, he retreats, not as if he had thrown away, or even dropt his shield; but he seems wholly collected in himself, and merely to be making use of a feint, whilst selecting a better situation. When his object is to refute his opponents, he accumulates all his powers. Sometimes he applies the more compressed weapons of logic, and with their extreme acuteness harasses those who are most versed and most obstinate in contest. Sometimes he expands himself, and lets loose all the reins to that species of eloquence, which is more diffusive, more magnificent, and more splendid. But all the superior greatness of his genius is then apparent, when unresisted he takes possession of what seemed capable of a vigorous defence; when he describes

scribes the opinions and manners of mankind; when he applies examples; when he alarms his adversaries with apprehensions of the future; when he denounces vengeance against crimes, or renders praise to virtue; when he passes the limits which restrain ordinary speakers; when he expresses the emotions of supplication, of hope, of detestation.

THE complacent respect of an audience is principally excited by the dignity of the speaker, his actions, and his moral reputation. The great opponent of Mr. Fox, although in this respect he possesses no actual superiority, is yet so circumspect in the regulation of his conduct, as to appear an honest, upright, moral character. However this may be, Mr. Fox possesses all the perfection and wisdom of eloquence; he never wastes his time in idle disputations, but has wholly employed his abilities in the study of political business. When he has once satisfied his mind about the rectitude of an action, he directs, with vigilance and strict propriety, all the talents of his mind, all the powers of art, to the accomplishment

ment of his purpose; for which reason he always appears to me to feel himself, with all imaginable force, the impression he endeavours to communicate.

WISDOM, as of all the other arts, is the foundation also of eloquence; but the man whose scientific attainments have received the maturity of experience, will not be retained where the obscure streamlet of eloquence meanders, but rushes forwards to where the full torrent of the tide bursts forth. But Mr. Fox, and in a manner which exceedingly becomes him, frequently assumes the humbler part of minutest explanation. Whenever he condescends to this, he obtains all that he can wish; but he can in a moment resume his dignity, and ascend, through every gradation, to the height of all which claims admiration. His oratory is at times so very rapid, that it appears somewhat obscure, from its extreme acuteness and celerity; but it still would not be easy to adopt expressions more significant, or more full of meaning: yet, in all that he says, there is an obvious vigour and beauty, peculiar to himself.

himself. He seems withal to exhibit that artificial shade, which makes such beauties more conspicuously observable: he possesses, in common with Demosthenes, the faculty of keeping his object constantly in view, and of impressing it, with the wished for effect, on the minds of his audience.

I WOULD wish such to understand, who have been misled by erroneous representation, that the very circumstance which is urged in diminution of Mr. Fox's excellence, is equally a proof of his skill and of his genius. His sentences, if minutely examined, are so exquisite, and so profound, that they seem rather the result of philosophical investigation, than borrowed from the schools of Rhetoric. They are sometimes confined to disquisitions of a personal nature; at others, they involve the history of past, or the occurrences of modern times; occasionally, they comprehend subjects of an universal nature. The better to excite and fix the attention, he disposes them in various points of view. With infinite skill he accommodates his speeches
to

to the different tastes and prejudices of different hearers: he introduces so much novelty, calls to his aid such strong and unexpected arguments, and applies them so admirably to the occasion, that he fascinates even those who are prejudiced against him, or hurries them unresisting along with him.

I HAVE before remarked, that the abilities of Mr. Fox are adequate to every possible occurrence. But whenever a subject presents itself, which claims the full exertion of his talents, he stands forth with a kind of luminous activity, and shews how vast are the powers of eloquence. He then seems like a torrent hurrying the mountain rocks before it, and disdaining all restraints of bridges or of banks. This force and celerity in speaking, Eupolis formerly admired in Pericles; and the most violent opponents of Mr. Fox hear, confess, and are astonished.

WHEN I contemplate the unworthy fortune which has attended this most exalted character, I am indignant from the memory
of

of the past, and full of grief from the expectation of the future. He himself, however, may proudly claim the public gratitude; for in the midst of calamity, which menaces the security of the most deserving citizens, he consoles himself with the consciousness of integrity, with the fair and undeluding hope, that posterity will render justice to his fame.

I HAVE now to reply to some clamorous objections of the vulgar: and even they whose general character is marked by a spirit of mildness—who view the passions incident to youth, free from every tincture of asperity—have exercised, on this occasion, all the malice and severity of dictatorial insolence.

THIS* is their common and constant subject of discourse: That they who have been drawn aside by the allurements of dissipation, or the stream of licentiousness, ought not to aspire to public honours, and must not be entrusted with the conduct of affairs.

* Cicero, pro Sext.

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WHAT shall I say? I expect every acrimonious replication; and I know that the general prejudices of my readers, will hardly suffer me to expect forgiveness. I will not plead the common propensities of youth, nor the temptations of fashion: I will even confess, that when Mr. Fox first entered on the dangerous paths of earlier life, when the blaze of the world first burst upon his inexperienced sight, he had not resolution to forego the pursuits, the pleasures, or, if you please, the follies, of his companions. I will confess that such is the characteristic ardour of his soul, that whether engaged by the Belles Lettres, the studies of Jurisprudence, luxurious or licentious pleasures, all his collective faculties were absorbed, even to satiety, by the one individual object before him. I will even go farther; I will allow that his deviation from the right line of discretion, was not abrupt or casual, but precipitate and continued; that he consumed his patrimony, became the victim of usurious engagements, and sullied the lustre of his rank and birth by vicious indulgences. But these delights,
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fallaciouſly ſo termed, never detained or obſtructed him for any conſiderable time. He felt a conſcious ſuperiority of talents; the ſtudies of eloquence, at intervals, captivated his fancy; and, with all his indifcretions, he preſerved a certain dignity of character. We are bold to aſſert, that he was never profligate. The luxurious purſuits which too much attached him, are dignified by Tacitus with the name of elegant; and are eſteemed by Cicero, as ſomewhat appropriate to an ingenuous and liberal character. The intereſts of his country occaſionally employed his thoughts and his activity. Like Petronius, he diſcovered great vigour of mind, great capacity for buſineſs: and, after the example of Mutianus, he proved, that if, in the hours of indolence and retirement, his purſuit of pleaſure was immoderate; yet, when incidents required, he was able to diſplay the luſtre of ſuperior virtues. He had ever the faculty, which he ſtill retains, of conciliating the affections of his friends. From them he always receives the welcome of delight; for, equality of rank, and ſimilarity of purſuits, are ſo far from provoking
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invidiousness amongst men of ingenuous sentiments, that they never fail to secure interest and attachment.

H E may justly be ranked amongst those, of whom there are many and estimable characters; who, from a youth consumed in intoxicating pleasure, have emerged at length, and become deserving as men, and illustrious as citizens. Whilst employed in the administration of affairs, all his plans were formed with so much diligence and energy, he was so vigilant and so indefatigable in his pursuit of the public welfare, so ready in transacting business, that no spirit of jealousy, or opposition, could withhold the praise which was alike due to the wisdom of his counsels, and the vigour of his actions.

I MUST now recal the remembrance of my readers to some recent affairs, in which the public calamity is involved. When, after a long gloom of continued ill fortune, a brighter prospect was beginning to unfold; there appeared on the public theatre certain ambitious men, who chose rather
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to be indebted for elevation in life to contingency of circumstances, than to virtuous conduct. Such was the extraordinary fascination of the times, that good citizens were silent from necessity; and, from the awe of prejudices equally violent and popular, remained in torpid inactivity. But now that loud and vulgar clamour has subsided, there can be no reason for the farther concealment of our sentiments upon public measures. It is irksome and it is painful to speak of that mad delusion, which, attaching itself to the passions of a restless public, employed the basest means to remove from their rank and station three such great and illustrious characters; a delusion which thus deprived the commonwealth of its truest protection and highest ornament. My mind is at this moment oppressed with anguish, to recollect how the undivided care of the government was entrusted, not to such characters as I have been describing, but to men young, new, and inexperienced; who, confiding in their numbers, took violent possession of a citadel erected for the noblest purposes. That a mean and malignant multitude persecut-

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ed with such incessant bitterness citizens of known integrity, and senators distinguished by their wisdom, cannot fail of exciting the wonder of posterity, as it justifies the ridicule of their opponents.

LET those who now, justly or otherwise, preside at the head of affairs, enjoy unenvied by me their vain and transitory glory. Let them exult and ostentatiously applaud themselves for their ingenuity, such as it is, exhibiting in pompous trappings what is beautiful in appearance only. To men who judge with freedom, and with the spirit of ingenuous pride, they will still appear to have arrived at their honours and their power, naked and defenceless; undistinguished by the ornamental aids of experience or knowledge.

IN those causes, of which every honest man would be ashamed, there are generally some softer tints of colouring, which may impose upon the rude and ignorant. It is no wonder, therefore, that the men of whom I speak, steal silently away from the feast and flow of convivial cheerfulness; and
offer

offer their devotions to the sober deities, rather than to Bacchus; since history informs us, that Demosthenes drank water when he composed his Orations*, and that Cæsar was perfectly sober when he invaded the liberty of his country†. If they have but the applause of the multitude, when they enact new laws, or abrogate old ones, they seem to imitate the example of the Orator, who, when he was asked the interpretation of a certain edict, replied, ‘ Just what I shall think proper.’ If they secure the popular acclamations by the flowers of eloquence, adulatory language, or pompous declamations in their own praise, they assuredly labour under the mental infirmity which so much disgraced Cicero. When they make an ostentatious display of their rhetorical talents, by perplexed and sophistical questions, we are led to imagine that they have been initiated in the Socratic discipline, whose pride it was, ‘ to make the worse cause appear the better.’

If, arrived fresh from the schools, they assume external manners inconsistent with

* Lucian.

† Sueton.

the natural mildness of youth, we will allow them to have remembered the apophthegm of Plato—‘The manners of wise rulers
‘ should be grave and solemn, with some-
‘ what of sharpness and asperity.’

NEW as they are to honours, fond of innovations, and forward to make a noise about every recent and memorable incident, the old Attic Proverb, purporting their reluctance to forego what they have once possessed, may be applied to them with peculiar propriety.

IF their power seem to disdain all limit, if the affairs of the people are conducted with much parade of importance, if they swell matters of trifling import into great imaginary consequence, they are secure of one resource in the favourable prejudices of the multitude. ‘Every thing perhaps,
‘ as Homer observes, is becoming in a
‘ youthful character, and all respect and
‘ love him. Having undertaken much,
‘ though probably nothing of great mo-
‘ ment, they say that he is both industrious
‘ and patriotic; if he shall chance to at-
‘ tempt

‘tempt actions of a more noble and splendid nature, they call him generous and magnanimous. There are also some incidents in which men of but few years experience, are deemed worthy of commendation, even from their temerity and contentious spirits*.’ Having taken upon themselves various matters, which will hardly admit of justification, ‘they violently force into debate what has in fact nothing at all to do with it; such matters, for instance, as the American war, and what is termed the Coalition: and when other resources fail, they fill up the chasms of their eloquence with acrimonious personality. They do not consider with what justice these are applied: the object is to make a display of their abilities, and to obtain the praise of their audience†.’ This bombastic style of reproach, this spirit of invidiousness, this snappish eloquence, as Appian terms it, is by some disguised beneath high-sounding language; who, without any sense of delicacy or propriety, apply to their party these words of Pindar:

* Plutarch, vol. ii. p. 793.

† Quintil. lib. xii. cap. 9.

‘ It is allowable to employ any means of
‘ distressing the enemy.’

WITH respect to the common people, as they are marked by fickleness and perfidy, they may be expected to cherish and applaud men of similar qualities: they therefore are of opinion, that the vessel of the state, harassed and torn by the severest storms, has at length found an harbour of security. They believe that the tide of public affairs now flows in a gentle and auspicious course. Their wishes also—though time must determine whether they have been assented to by any auspicious deities—yet do they boast that all their sanguine wishes have found a prosperous termination. Such intimations have frequently reached our ears; we are not only reluctant in assenting to them, but we are accustomed, from habit, to weigh all things with deliberation, and to look beyond the present moment: and although the popular voice is loud to the extreme in commendation of our Palinurus, I am well assured he has given no proofs of sagacious capacity for business, or of genuine
and

and solid eloquence. For the man who presides at the helm of government, other qualifications to us seem requisite, than harmonious and well-turned periods, or than the power of imposing silence on the multitude by the art, or even the dignity, of eloquence. The care of a nation's prosperity and happiness, is a far more arduous task than is commonly imagined: it does not depend upon a fluency of speech, not matured by experience; upon the cant of schools, or the arts of meretricious oratory. The requisitions which to us seem essential, must be collected from various sciences and laborious study, which are, as it were, the handmaids of eloquence; but, above all, from profound meditation and continued experience,

HE who presides at the helm of state, should unquestionably possess a lofty name, great speciousness of appearance, and dignity of manner; so that it seems altogether extraordinary that a youthful character, but moderately versed in jurisprudence, should be able to sustain the weight of so responsible and important a situation. Pin-

dar, who was so conversant in every species of ornamental language, may be suffered to say of Damophilus, with equal elegance and beauty, 'Young as he was, ' he was as old in prudent counsels as if ' he had reached the period of an hundred ' years.'

It was nevertheless, recommended by Tacitus, with a wisdom which claims applause, that young men should be cautiously entrusted with premature honours, lest they become insolent and vain; for seldom, if ever, does it happen, that we forget the impression of a youthful character, from its being distinguished by the mature excellence of virtuous experience. The progress indeed of military virtue, as may be expected, is generally rapid. At a very early age the Macedonian Alexander performed the most wonderful exploits; Africanus Major and Titus Flaminus extended the limits of the Roman empire, and were elected Consuls in their rising youth. But they are in a very different predicament, who, in times of peace, are advanced to the care and the weight of government.

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Such characters have generally been found to consume their talents and ability in conforming to the prejudices of popular levity; and have generally preferred the enjoyment of power useless in its operation, and the ardours of ambition rash in itself, and deceitful in its consequences, to the possession of true and solid glory. They who make objections of this kind to the fame of Lucullus, seem to me to argue fallaciously. I allow that great man to have been distinguished by the splendour of most superior abilities, which did not require the accustomed modes of discipline; and that high as was the opinion of his virtue, it was far exceeded by the renown he obtained in military service. His youth was spent in the business of the Forum, and he was a very considerable time Quæstor in Asia. He was both Quæstor, Ædile, and Prætor, before he was advanced to the Consulship. His memory of things was so wonderfully tenacious, that whatever he heard or saw was indelibly engraved upon his mind. He was versed in every branch of science and philosophy. He was constantly by the side of Antiochus, who, in
genius

genius and knowledge, was the first philosopher of his time. But of all these great and illustrious qualities, none, we believe, distinguish our Palinurus.

IT is reported of Atticus*, that he never became languid in the prosecution of any business which he had once undertaken: a quality which the Minister by no means thought worthy of applause in him, who had judiciously retreated from the administration of affairs. He alone has found a new path to fame; he, under his own auspices, has introduced a new mode of governing a nation. He designedly plunges to the most profound abyss, that he may rise again more beautiful to view. He obtains new powers, and fresh resolution, from having failed again and again in vast and prodigious projects. Without the hopes, or even the talents for victory, he deliberately throws down the gauntlet to men who possess all the accomplishments of eloquence, in order to obtain a fictitious triumph by the means of artifice and illusion. He who assumes a kind of pride

* Corn. Nep.

and

and credit to himself, when his attempts were frustrated by his own want of exertion, or vanquished totally by the power and skill of his opponents—what would he have done, or what would he have said, if the schemes of policy, which he had planned, had succeeded?

THE characters of Politicians and Philosophers are not, in my opinion, to be decided from any individual circumstance*, but from the general and consistent tenor of their lives. I mean, therefore, concisely to review those actions, or those attempts, of the Minister, which have received the loudest plaudits of his friends,

IN the affairs of Ireland, he disdained the use of lenient measures, and the exercise of gentler influence. What was the consequence? He excited disgust, and involved himself in embarrassing perplexities.

WITH respect to the representation of the people, he strained all the powers of

* Cicero.

his

his genius, and faculties of his mind. Not satisfied with the idea of introducing reform, his object seemed to be totally to alter the constitution of the senate. The views of which he thought so highly, were rendered ineffectual by a majority of the House: from the very moment of which incident, all his ardour grew cold, all his diligence relaxed. His every hope of healing what seemed corrupt in the state, has appeared not only diminished, but absolutely vanished. In this particular, they whom the name and the form of Liberty transport to the extreme bounds of reason, complain of his insincerity; and assert that he, the patron, the only support of the cause, uses a language very foreign to his secret sentiments,

As to the *saving*, which under the auspices of our Solon is, they say, hereafter to take place in the public revenues, it is a measure, to speak in the softest terms, of very doubtful and precarious event.

WITH regard to those foreign nations, who sometimes appear to be forming dark
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and dangerous designs—at others, openly pursue and avow bold and ambitious measures—if any sudden mischief burst upon our heads, the circumstance will of itself unfold what may in the interval elude observation. A war would be a severe test of the Minister's sagacity and foresight.

THE late Commercial Treaty seems, in its first aspect, to bear a strong resemblance to the one formerly concluded at Utrecht. It may be remarked, perhaps, that nature seems to have placed an insuperable bar to union in divided shores, opposite fortunes, laws, customs, and genius. To such arguments, the reply of the Minister will be of this kind: ' You have encouraged a spirit of animosity against this people, but they are now inclined to enter into engagements of amity with you, and it becomes you to indulge similar propensities*.'

BUT are we not to drink from sparkling cups the delicious wines of France, in exchange for British merchandize? Are not

* Aristoph.

the

the reconciled citizens of each country to communicate affectionately together, to partake of convivial pleasures, to laugh and drink together ?

THEY who favour this Treaty, indeed the Minister himself, and all his partisans, loudly and boisterously contend, that the ambitious spirit of the French will now be lulled to repose, and we shall have nothing hereafter to fear from their arts, or from their perfidy. The name of Peace is, I confess, delightful ; I would purchase it, when sweet and salutary, at any price: but expressions of this nature, whether prompted by hostile artifice, or the excess of virtue, meet not the full assent of reason. The character of the French is, in my opinion, marked by a lust of power, and by perfidiousness ; when they therefore make spontaneous and liberal overtures, my distrust is only the more awakened. I fear lest War be enveloped in the mantle of Peace.

HAD the father of our Minister lived now, he would have reprobated whatever
has

has been urged by his descendant in this question, as equally base to assert, and disgraceful to hear. He would have fulminated his own peculiar eloquence against those who had expressed an unbecoming dread of the events of war, uncertain in themselves, and common to all concerned. He would have asserted boldly in the senate, that it became men like us, of established character for bravery, to shine in virtuous excellence, and not dread the occurrences of fortune.—‘Is there any news abroad? Can there be a greater novelty, than that this man of Macedon should domineer over Greeks? That Athenians should consider this Philip as one invincible? That Demosthenes, called so after his happier father, should soothe you to indolence, should captivate your listening ears with fine but empty speeches? By Jove this beardless boy tames you to his will*.’

They who listen to the splendid professions of the Minister, and see him involved, and, as it were, chained down,

* Demosthenes.

amidst

amidst so many and such perplexing projects, may with propriety exclaim, 'Metiochus commands the army, Metiochus superintends the highways, Metiochus bakes our bread, Metiochus bolts the meal; in short, Metiochus does every thing*.' But if he deceive the public expectation; if he appear to have had in view, not the accomplishment of his purposes, so much as the exercise of his speculative talents; if any unexpected but formidable commotion should take place; if the flame of war should break forth, then will the multitude, in the clamorous language of vexation, again and again exclaim, 'Let Metiochus suffer for our misfortunes.'

I have some difficulty in delivering my sentiments concerning the style of this young man's eloquence, because there are few adequate judges of the matter itself, but a vast multitude who are ignorantly devoted to his cause. They who are without the faculty of taste and judgment, are filled with admiration whenever they

* Plutarch.

hear what is beyond the line of their experience, or somewhat too refined for their comprehension.

THEY, who think deeper than the vulgar, will allow that to be, at best, but a popular and plausible eloquence, which glitters with puerile points; which swells with tumid insignificance; which carries its bombast almost to phrenzy, and mistakes the rash for the sublime. That species of eloquence which Hume declared he could conceive in his mind, but never knew to be attained, his partizans appropriate to the Minister. This imagined model of perfection they fancy that they lead by the hand:—A young man, with the greatest acuteness of understanding, regularly trained in the most perfect discipline, by no means unacquainted with jurisprudence; who, when he rises in the senate, never fails to charm the ear, and delight the passions; who has all the splendid stores of eloquence perfectly at command; who is copious, elegant, and sublime.

HAVING taken this opportunity of giving

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ing my sentiments to the public, I shall relate, with unreserved freedom, what from various and important reasons I have hitherto concealed. This young man is distinguished by an ornamented and florid style of eloquence, which, as it seems altogether transferred to the senate from the schools of the sophists, offends the sagacity of some, and the dignity of others. He possesses one faculty, in my opinion his chief recommendation, of speaking with facility on all occasions. The ancients were accustomed to believe this talent could only be the effect, though the honourable effect, of continued industry. Whatever is the necessity of the occasion, as soon as he rises, at the very waving of his hand, and motion of his foot, an exuberance of words (like the Pompeian Band, bound to their leader by the solemnity of an oath) press themselves forwards with zealous eagerness; and very remarkable it is, that whilst speaking with great variety, and still greater celebrity, in all the turns and changes of debate, he is so accurate in the choice, and correct in the application of his words, that he never, in the minutest instance, deviates from

from grammatical precision. To which facility it is to be added, that in disputation he preserves one uniform tenour, and that regularity which seems best and most properly adapted to the order of his sentiments, as prompted by the contingency of the occasion. There is no pause nor hesitation in his speaking; he never seems to deliberate, even for a moment, as if selecting, from two things present to his fancy, the one most eligible for use or for ornament.

THERE are many, however, who do not entirely approve of that rapidity of style, which is produced by the imagination when warm with new ideas. Yet these, nevertheless, acknowledge, that if this style were committed to writing, it could not be made more polished, or more perfect. The application perhaps of unusual, and of what are termed Attic expressions, may be defective in strength, but is sometimes exceedingly beautiful. It sometimes also happens that a sentence, however decorated by well-chosen words, carries with it little or no impression; the words themselves

may be offensive in their operation upon the ear: and very often the speech to which we have listened with attentive pleasure, appears, when we have the opportunity of examining it at leisure, weak, trifling, and unconnected.

THE Minister's style of oratory is always severe, and sometimes acrimonious; indeed it is sometimes necessary to make the retaliation his asperity provokes. At ridicule also he makes occasional attempts, either to prevent the effects of weariness and satiety on his audience, or probably by way of relaxation to his own genius, naturally of a very different propensity. But in this respect he fails altogether; he is neither pointed, elegant, nor witty; and obviously discovers that, like Demosthenes, he is not so much averse to facetiousness, as unsuccessful in attaining it.

BUT his principal defect is entirely different from any thing I have yet mentioned. As a civilian, in which kind of knowledge it becomes an orator to be particularly accomplished, he has no claim
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to praise. He is destitute of that ratiocination which is applied by philosophy to the investigation of human nature and human manners. He possesses not the impressive power of exciting the ardour of the soul, and of leaving on the minds of his hearers an energy not easily effaced. To obtain *our* applause, his speeches should be more compressed, and less voluble; with greater marks of study and polished artifice; with a spirit of harmony, natural and unaffected, not as it were laboured and constrained. If we determine that to be the only genuine eloquence, which at one time rouses to ardour, at another steals upon the sense; which communicates new ideas, and operates to the extinction of inveterate prejudices; the present Minister is by many degrees distant from his father's excellence,

HE is by nature vehement and impetuous, and can by no means allow a syllable to fall from another's tongue, that is not either agreeable or honourable to himself. It is this very circumstance which induces me to check his presumption, and

to restrain his petulant promptitude of speech by a few questions of this nature. To those ostentatious ornaments, so conspicuous in his speeches, does he add those which are derived from polished erudition—which in youth, a state entitled to every indulgence, we listen to with praise? Does he attend sufficiently to those events which modern times revere as sacred? Or is his memory enriched with those stories of ancient literature, which are not only delightful to hear, but in illustration are considered as equally authentic and satisfactory? Does he apply those words which breathe and glow, the delight of the studious and the learned, happily to his subject, or introduce them in his speeches with effect? Does he communicate any thing uncommonly exquisite, any thing fully adequate to the expectation of those whose learning is extensive, and whose judgments are mature? any thing, in short, to which men of continued experience, or even men of more moderate attainments, can ascribe the praise of originality? Of these perfections he possesses NONE. I am therefore less reluctant in allowing him the merit

merit of that eloquence, which is trite and common. I will go farther; I will acknowledge, and it is one perfection of an orator, that he discovers marks of considerable attention, that he has received some benefit from reading. But if, at any time, somewhat peculiarly exquisite has been introduced in his speeches, which has not frequently happened, it is to me sufficiently obvious that he has drawn it from other sources than his own.

IT is not very long since he left with disdain our inferior courts, as places of drudgery, ill-suited to his talents. But what others usually attain from art, or from habit, we may suppose him to have received from nature, or from the flightest application possible. Hence it happens, that common phrases appear floating about an immense ocean of words, some from Livy, others from Lucan, both well known to school-boys and smatterers in learning: so that his style of oratory, upon some occasions, marks the declaimer from the schools; at others, the wrangler from the

bar. Let it by no means be imputed to him as a merit, that he never expresses alarm about the events of debate, or that he despises the magnitude and difficulty of the affairs to be conducted, however serious and extensive. Marcus Crassus made no scruple of confessing, that, when beginning to speak, he frequently turned pale, was discomposed in his mind, and trembled in every limb. Cicero also acknowledges, that whenever the remembrance of the day in which he was to speak occurred, he was not only agitated in his mind, but he shewed his agitation outwardly. But no one ever saw our present Minister in the smallest degree disordered by fear, or embarrassed by that ingenuous and lovely modesty, so becoming in the youthful character. There are some, I know, who esteem this an admirable quality*; but, in the opinion of Marcus Crassus, the best and the finest speakers may well deserve the imputation of impudence, if they do not rise with some degree of timidity, and shew some little embarrassment at the commencement of their speeches.

* Cicero.

YOUNG men may indeed be expected both to speak more copiously, and to use more daring expressions. But there is nothing in the nature of things which unfolds itself all at once, or exhibits in one moment all its constituent parts; if therefore the immature brow of the orator be precipitately hardened, if he assume rashly the more obnoxious qualities; what might have been produced and prepared in the best part of life, with the happiest effect, is altogether abased. For I would ask, Are not the seeds of arrogance planted? Does not a rash confidence anticipate the powers of the mind? Does not the orator become tumid, self-conceited, and eloquent, to the injury of the public?

WHETHER Hume was possessed of that sagacity, which almost claims the appellation of divine, I pretend not to determine; but I well know this is not the character which that philosopher esteemed the pride and the ornament of a listening senate. They who are versed in these things, and who form their judgments with cool deliberation, will, I doubt not, afford me
their

their cheerful assent, when I declare that the words of Cicero, as applicable to some recent affairs, seem marked by a prophetic spirit. ‘ When he, who as an orator ‘ had often been moderate, and sometimes ‘ had risen to excellence, omitting the study ‘ of wisdom, had obtained nothing beyond ‘ oratorical ability; it happened that, in ‘ the opinion of the multitude and himself, ‘ he was deemed a proper person to guide ‘ the helm of government*.’

If we seriously contemplate this young man’s character, we shall see him at one time conceitedly vain of his very absurdities; at another, in the midst of difficulties, perplexed and ignorant: and are obliged to confess that no individual was ever so unlike himself. Upon other occasions he is vehement and irritable, scattering his insolent reproaches around him, and attempting the possession of his object by the most hostile violence. In some things he resembles the character of Lancaster, as described by Shakespeare’s Jolly Knight, whose facetiousness and goodly-stuffed

* Cic. Rhet.

body,

body, the fervile companions of him whom we describe, hold in deadly abhorrence.

‘ This same young sober-blooded boy doth
‘ not love me: nor a man cannot make
‘ him laugh; but that’s no marvel, he
‘ drinks no wine. There’s never any of
‘ these demure boys come to any proof;
‘ for thin drink doth so overcool their
‘ blood, and making many fish-meals, that
‘ they fall into a kind of male green sick-
‘ nefs*.’

THE one day he appears so tied down and constrained by certain prejudices of sentiment, that, like the ancient dogmatists, he is compelled, that his dignity or firmness may not be questioned, to vindicate what it is impossible he should approve. The morrow perhaps effects a total change in his opinions; and he thinks nothing so indiscreet, so unbecoming the gravity of a wise man, as to defend with perseverance what he has not very seriously investigated. Then again, like the daw, bold and gaudy in its borrowed colours, he scruples not to insult with vulgar contumely

* Henry IV. part ii. act iv. sc. 7.

the ears of them, to whose sagacity he owes whatever is pure and prudent in his counsels.

HE has learned from Minucius to consider him as the first character, who is himself competent to determine wisely ; the next is he who is obedient to wise instructors. He therefore takes every possible means to make it appear, that he is fully capable of conducting with discretion his own concerns, and still not averse to listen to advice. It makes, however, a wonderful difference, whether you take from another modestly what may be applied to your own advantage, or whether you snatch it with indecent violence. When domestic resources are poor and contracted, necessity may prompt, and somewhat extenuate, an attack upon the property of others. But it is the mark of a mean and invidious disposition, of a mind equally reluctant to yield, and unable by fair and honourable contest to obtain the victory, to load those with vindictive reproaches who have been the instruments of our benefit*. He who

* Virgil.

does

does not disdain being instructed by an enemy, should at least allow that enemy the merit he deserves.

IT cannot, however, be denied, that there are some amongst his adversaries with whom he consistently avoids the encounter. For he fails in obtaining the applause even of his friends, whenever he opposes himself to that man, whose talents as an orator, or a disputant, are so eminently great; who penetrates into every subject of whatever nature, and understands every weapon exercised in its defence; who rivals Hyperides and Lyfias in acuteness, Menander and Aristophanes in wit.

FROM the above character Mr. Pitt, with conscious inferiority, sometimes recedes, as if anxious for a pretence to avoid controversy. When he is unable to do this, he forsakes his sarcastic and twisted mode of disputation, and begins to render praise to his opponent, in a manner which shews how greatly he fears him. It would be surprising, indeed, if he, and especially a young man, who contends with Sheridan,
did

did not throw away his weapons, and spare his unavailing powers. The more subtle and inveterate disputants, it becomes either to be silent altogether, or to listen with respectful deference; for, to a profound knowledge of affairs, Sheridan unites all the essential accomplishments of the orator. His vein of humour is great and delightful; his erudition is polite, elegant, and extensive; his quickness of apprehension, and acuteness of reply, are really wonderful; besides which, he upon all occasions discovers the most ingenuous and exquisite urbanity.

It is believed that an orator, however moderately accomplished, if he has any merit at all, can secure the attention of his audience. For my part, great as is the crowd of the Minister's friends, I have seldom met with one who can, in any respect, compare with Sheridan. I have among them found several not defective in ability, but without oratorical ability. The attainments of some of them are very scanty indeed; their natural talents much more so: they are so far from being eloquent speakers,

speakers, that they do not merit the appellation of speakers at all. Others of them are obscure and *new-made* men; becoming orators very suddenly, and distinguished by their rude vulgarity of style. We will therefore suffer the crowd, the bold Gyas and the bold Cloanthus, to pass unnoticed, as men who cannot speak with elegance, and are inadequate to the labour of thinking. There are two whom I place in the same scale with Sheridan; one of whom may be called the leader of the combat, the other is the second part actor.

THE celerity of the Minister in *action* is ever so prompt and so prepared, that nothing can possibly be more specious. But Sheridan excels him in acuteness, and sometimes in diligence; always in poignancy and wit.

NEXT to the Minister, but with a long interval of distance, next to him however, is Grenville; who, unequal, and indeed vanquished in the contest, has still carried from it the no mean honour of having contended with Sheridan. This young man has

has a sufficient share of learning, a prudent and careful considerateness, and a commendable share of industry. But to him, in expediting and perfecting affairs, Sheridan is far superior; and combines, what is very difficult indeed to accomplish, conciseness with ornament.

THERE may be orators of very great excellence, who differ essentially from each other:—We will therefore venture to compare Sheridan with some who either resemble him in ardour, or are united to him by the ties of friendship and affection.

EACH of the three characters, of whom I have made frequent mention, is accomplished in his own way nearly to perfection; but not one of them possesses a recommendation which is common to them all—I had almost said that Sheridan has attained whatever individually distinguishes them, and supplied what they respectively want of perfection. The golden tide of eloquence which Burke pours forth; the urbanity, the easy and unstudied elegance of North; the subtlety, the vigour, the variety

riety of Fox—all these qualities are conspicuously united in Sheridan.

IN the late public cause instituted against a certain Governor, how extensive were his claims to favour and to fame ! With what energy of voice and spirit did he attach the attention of his hearers, of all ranks, ages, and parties ! In how wonderful a manner did he communicate delight, and incline the most reluctant spirits to his purpose !

To the discussion of this cause he came admirably prepared—all was anxious expectation and attention. From the very beginning he appeared to justify impatience. That subject, so various, complicated, and abstruse, he comprehended with precision, and explained with systematic acuteness. He placed every argument in that particular point where it had the greatest energy and effect. Throughout a very long speech he was careful to use no imprudent expression, but was manifestly and uniformly consistent with himself ; his style was dexterously adapted to the contingency of the occasion : in one part

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he was copious and splendid ; in another, more concise and pointed, and gave additional polish to truth. As he found it necessary, he instructed, delighted, or agitated his hearers. He appeared to have no other object in view but that of giving the fairest termination to the business ; to prove the guilt of the accused by the most indisputable evidence ; and to confirm the object of the investigation by strong and decisive reasoning. Then first did that *Scot*, audacious as he is, tremble with alarm, and altogether forget his usual loquacity. But the Minister rendered Sheridan the tribute of his suffrage ; either because he felt the irresistible impression of his eloquence ; or chose to embrace this as the fairest opportunity of atoning for his former most reproachful conduct.

AT that time Sheridan discovered a spirit of wit and humour, not mean and vulgar, but consistent with the purest eloquence. His oratory was often rapid and diffused, but in no one instance crowded or redundant ; it was, as contingency required, vehement, indignant, and expressive

five

five of the justest sorrow : its impression, its splendour, its copiousness, and variety, were in all respects responsible to the greatness and dignity of the occasion.

WITH how great applause he was heard by an attentive senate, is universally known. His most determined adversaries were compelled to render tribute to his excellence. A large portion was added, not merely to his ingenuous and honourable popularity, but to his solid and unfading glory. Posterity will again and again, with renewed delight and wonder, peruse that composition ; and, with heartfelt animation, will often apply to him the words of Æschines, ‘ Oh that we had heard him ! ’

THE American War did certainly commence, and was afterwards conducted, under the most unhappy auspices. This has constantly been, in the hands of the Minister, a most tremendous instrument of torture, directed against the security and fame of an individual. There have been men who, removed from all danger and alarm, have persevered in the most hostile propen-

sities against the same character ; but to contemplate, without ridicule, incidents which have found admission into our senate, requires no small strength of muscle. Somewhat of the most minute importance has been the proposed subject of debate : the chosen band has been assembled, and the young men composing it, indulged in obstreperous clamour ; all has been noisy mirth and tumultuous contention. After a while, a certain person, in the pride of office, makes his entrance ; instantly he rises from his place, and losing gradual remembrance of the unimportant matter to be discussed, he begins a terrible story of blood and wounds ; talks of Sylla and Marius, of the atrociousness of Punic perfidy, with the loudest vehemence of voice and action : he calls heaven and earth to witness that the American War was the sole occasion of the matter in question, however insignificant ; he contends that, of the American War, Lord North was the one and only cause ; he calls Lord North the fatal and prodigious mischief of the state ; Lord North, he repeats again and again, is open to the vengeance of the violated laws, has
nothing

nothing to hope from the favour of the good, and every thing to fear from the horrors of punishment. Whilst he utters these, and other sentiments of the same preposterous tenor, with all the energy of affected pathos, the senate, become callous from frequent experience, sits with a kind of patient indifference, which seems altogether incredible; whilst they who, with unfeeling neglect of his safety, deserted Lord North, continue silent, or indulge in secret ridicule—those very men, who, from the basest principles of avarice, formerly promoted the American War, of their own accord increased its shameful and horrid conflagration, and with all their hearts and minds pressed its continuance. Each, trembling for himself, was delighted to see one object singled out for destruction. They well knew, the temper of the present Minister disdained the pursuit of mean and ignoble game; he was ardent to engage a lion or a mountain boar. He knew that, from the Greek and Roman stores, many images, expressed by men of illustrious genius, deserved his serious thought and careful imitation; he determined (to use the language

of Aristophanes) to shew the indignant rage of Hercules, and to contend with enormous monsters only.

To these popular qualities is to be added, it seems, which is less known and less conspicuous, his knowledge of Greek literature; which, if it be true, constitutes one occasion of amity between us, as having been engaged in similar studies. He, however, placed in so elevated a station, has the same right which Sylla had to esteem himself happy. Yet I do advise and very seriously exhort him, if he should ever have occasion to write in Greek, not to imitate Sylla too minutely; let him beware of calling himself ‘The beloved of Venus*.’ I would farther recommend to him, who in his speeches has imitated the severity of Lycurgus, but by no means resembled him in moral integrity, that he suffer time and experience to soften his asperity. Let him learn from Cicero to avoid using reproaches, the sting of which refuses to be

* Sylla, in all his answers and addresses to the states of Greece, called himself *Epaphroditus*, or, ‘The Beloved of Venus.’ T.

healed;

healed ; let him aim at his adversaries only, nor should he wound them indiscriminately, and upon every occasion ; let him use delicacy towards the dignity of others, as the surest means of preserving his own ; let him learn from Quintilian that those expressions, which in the warmth of speaking appear bold and manly, are esteemed foolish when they communicate injury ; let him remember that the gratification of that man is base and inhuman, who, to excite ridicule, descends to abuse, and accommodating himself to the disposition of his hearers, loses the value of an upright character, by becoming a noisy and boisterous wrangler : above all, let him bear in mind that the character of the man is marked by the language of the speaker ; that the evil speaker differs but in opportunity from the evil doer.

I AM well assured that what was formerly said of Fimbria, will be applied to me, on the present occasion, in objection to my sentiments : ‘ His oratory was thought
‘ austere and malignant, and in every respect much too bold ; but his integrity of

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‘ mind,

'mind, and rectitude of life, secured him
'authority in the senate*.' I am obliged,
although it is with extreme uneasiness, to
confess, that the Minister constantly obtains
the confidence of his hearers, and possesses
the approbation of the people, who so ve-
hemently admire the eloquence which he
has always at hand, that they forbear to
scrutinize his imperfections. The reason
of this, to every more curious enquirer, will
be sufficiently obvious: I shall deliver my
sentiments on the subject, but with some
degree of caution.

THE common people have always one
particular favourite, to whom they in a man-
ner entirely devote themselves; they receive
him to their embraces and their bosom
with all the fondness of the most passionate
attachment; they will, to a man, bear so-
lemn testimony to his honesty and inno-
cence†, though not one amongst them can,

* Cicero's Brutus.

† Whose honesty they all durst swear for,
Though not a man of them knew wherefore.

by any appearance of reason, vindicate their prejudice in his favour,

THE Minister does not want the sagacity to perceive, that the common people are a kind of pipe, which it becomes an orator to fill with his breath; for which reason, in a manner the discovery of which is peculiarly his own, he uses the instrument to the common delight of the vulgar and himself. The music which it most delighted Themistocles to hear*, the Minister thinks is most effectually composed by his own powers of voice, when he is full of admiration of himself, and ostentatiously pronounces a panegyric on his own virtues. Hence it is, that when he elevates his voice so as to rend the very skies, upon matters immaterial in their consequences, and contemptible in themselves, he insists upon the most unreserved deference. Every opinion which is delivered in contradiction to his will, provokes his indignation, as if there

* When Themistocles was asked, to what music he listened with the greatest pleasure? 'To the voice of him,' he replied, 'who best sounds the praise of my meritorious actions.' T.

were

were no alternative betwixt undeserved and unseasonable adulation, and the asperity of reproachful language. Hence it is, that the freedom of speech, which in the greatest characters amongst us has been the result of the sublimest accomplishments, he thinks is necessarily attached to his character, so as to justify his very rudeness, in opposition to the forms which custom has established. One thing I am about to mention, so exceedingly ridiculous, that it seems a kind of prodigy. Clodius* proclaims aloud, that the splendour of the Minister's purity is so great and glaring, that it dazzles and confounds his powers of sight. Those axioms of voluptuousness, so flattering to the sensual propensities, he has at length learned to despise and avoid. Nothing, he thinks, is so charming, nothing so beautiful, nothing so amiable, as virtue! He declares that he has found the individual, whose eyes beauty cannot fascinate; whose ears melody cannot allure; the uniform tenour of whose life is spent in bodily fatigue, and mental exercise. This chaste and hallowed constellation was reserved till

* A city officer.

now,

now, to irradiate the firmament in honour of a George's reign.

SUCH sentiments, from the lips of Clodius, are consistent and becoming. There are others who believe the Minister rather distinguished by the absence of vices, than the actual possession of virtues. On this head I have always thought it adviseable to imitate the prudence and moderation of Fimbria. For which reason, I have never spoken decisively on the moral conduct of the Minister, that I might not by any expressions of disapprobation injure a character eventually meritorious; and I was equally cautious not to pronounce him an excellent citizen, in whom I thought many official duties, and essential claims to praise, manifestly wanting. I have been in the same manner free to confess, that there were many things, even in Mr. Fox, which the mildest nature might with propriety reprehend. Notwithstanding which, nature has certainly bestowed on Mr. Fox the principles of a great and exalted character, and peculiarly formed him for the exercise of justice, activity, friendship, the virtues of
private

private life, and the administration of public affairs.

WHEN the people had committed the unreserved direction of themselves to the Minister, affairs were carried on, we will not say successfully, but with a kind of exultation. It may probably be of some advantage to examine those incidents somewhat more minutely, which, however trifling in appearance, are frequently in their effects of the most serious importance. Our fellow-citizens may esteem it a testimony of their good fortune, that those actions, of which they have been the recent instruments, cannot be considered as if destitute of deliberation or of method. Whilst the predicament in which they themselves were placed, had neither the substance nor the image of truth, they required (which was a proof either of extreme subtlety, or the most preposterous folly)—they required, however, the test of ridicule to be applied, as the touchstone of truth, to the cause of their opponents. Not that we can consider them as at all versed in that species of philosophy which Shaftesbury cultivated; but, in obedience

obedience to the suggestions of all-powerful nature, they exercised the weapons in which they peculiarly excelled, to the terror, as well as injury, of individuals far more deserving and more accomplished than themselves. We often call those times to our remembrance, when they, who were very inadequate judges of the delicate predicament of public affairs, could feed their wondering eyes, and fickle spirits, by gazing at trifling pictures. When they viewed, as their opponent, such a man as Pericles, marked by a trifling imperfection, they called to their aid some Pauson, some Bupalus*, or a certain person great in skill, but mistaken in his attachments, whose name, not to be expressed in English, is by the Greeks called *Stephanus*.

THEY were, in all respects, equal to the work they had undertaken. By certain drawings†, full of strong and malignant allusions, they effected that which has been related of Cleander, whose sarcastic wit and ridicule alone, removed a certain go-

* Grecian painters of caricature.

† Alluding to Mr. Sayer's performances. T.

vernor from the administration of Egypt, who had really been guilty of no crime.

THERE were not wanting those of the opposite party*, who, by way of reply, invoked the assistance of the satiric muse, and applied their Iambic measures with a force and acuteness, which the poet Hipponax himself would not have disdained.

IT were however to be wished that a picture might be painted, the object of which should not be self-vindication, but honourable resentment; resembling that, by the means of which Apelles (for we are upon a subject in which we need not be ashamed to introduce Grecian tales) preserved himself from ruin, when the false accusations of Antiphilus had vehemently incensed King Ptolemy against him†.

IF

* The writers of the Rolliad.

† The picture of Apelles, alluded to above, is thus described by Lucian :

‘ On the right hand sat a man, having very large ears, resembling those of Midas, extending his hand towards a personage at some little distance, ’
‘ repre-

If this cannot be done, we would recommend some other performance, in which the greatest possible skill should be exerted to render it fully adequate to its object. In things of this kind it frequently happens, that the effect of the ridicule is not so great as the occasion which provokes it. It is, however, very well known, that the distinguished character, marked in the performance to which we allude, does not upon every occasion coincide with the

‘ representing Calumny. On each side of him were
‘ two women, Ignorance and Suspicion. Calumny
‘ was painted exceedingly fair, but very artful, and
‘ with great appearance of furious resentment. In
‘ her left hand she held a torch; her right was twisted
‘ in the hair of a youth, in the attitude and gesture
‘ of supplication. Before her stalked a deformed
‘ man, with a pallid countenance, as if afflicted
‘ with a grievous disease: he was easily known to be
‘ Envy. Two other personages seemed, as they fol-
‘ lowed, to be encouraging and ornamenting Calum-
‘ ny: one was Insidiousness, the other Falsehood.
‘ Behind, with a slow step, Penitence advanced, in a
‘ habit of mourning, torn and defiled: she frequently
‘ looked back with tears, and with every mark of
‘ contrition, at Truth, who was approaching from a
‘ distant part of the scene.—Such was the picture
‘ by which Apelles represented his own dangerous
‘ situation.’

Minister

Minister in sentiment. This indeed may, at the present day, be said of almost every individual amongst us, who is distinguished above his fellow-citizens by experience or ingenuity, by the more ingenuous and ornamental accomplishments. To men of this description, it is almost impossible to say how very dear and sacred that cause is, which has proved unsuccessful. This still retains a conspicuous superiority, notwithstanding they who support the opposite party are far more numerous, and always advance to the contest in one united body, with all the parade and pride of military discipline.

THINGS being thus situated, whatever disgrace accompanies defeat, they are very well able to bear; to whom may be applied what Zeno formerly said to the crowd of scholars who attended Theophrastus—
'His dancers are more numerous, but mine
'keep better time.'

THE objects of their attachment are certainly dearer to themselves, and more honourable in appearance, as being not at all

* Plutarch.

subject

subject to the influence either of hope or fear.

WE ought by no means to wonder, that the people should discover an inclination to make attacks on the fame and fortunes of the worthiest citizens. That the opportunity occurred of doing this with impunity, does not to us afford an occasion of envy. As we are in the habits of delivering our sentiments with freedom, instead of calling in question the privileges of the people, we do not hesitate to avow, that their suffrages should be free from all controlment, that they should at pleasure give and retract their marks of approbation. Yet are we compelled to assert, with the plainness and with the energy of truth, that they frequently treat the most deserving with neglect—frequently view those actions with disdain, which have proceeded from the noblest motives; that their suffrages have often been obtained by no more honourable means than a compliance with their humours; and that, in bestowing these, their affections or resentments have been more conspicuous than their judgment.

ment. Upon occasions of no vast moment, every wise man will bear with equanimity the measures he is unable to approve: but in those tempestuous perturbations of the state, of which we have lately been spectators, temerity and violence universally prevailed. If any one shall chuse to call them by softer appellations, it still must be confessed, they can only be supported because they cannot be entirely obliterated. These irritable parts we touch with a delicate and trembling hand; but the influence of past incidents can neither be corrected nor amended, unless the incidents themselves be pointed out to censure. All those things which recently have happened, may again and again be repeated; and what now excites, by its example, astonishment and alarm, may hereafter be established as a precedent, if that iniquity, which has succeeded in defiance of all justice, should in future provoke a spirit of imitation.

WHEN things of the most serious importance are agitated, every most prudent individual will think it not so much incumbent upon him to enumerate the popular suffrages,

suffrages, as to estimate their real value. He will prove the firmness of his mind in despising the whisperings of rumour. He will exert the utmost of his ability, not to obtain popularity, but to mark his attachment to merit and to virtue. He will listen with complacency and attention to those, and those alone, who have sagacity to examine, to read, and to know the manners and passions of mankind, amidst all the disguises and labyrinths of language. He must have known many things, which, at one time thought doubtful and dangerous, have at another met with honour and reward. He must have known that men, rash and ignorant, have been alarmed by fallacious representations; and, deciding with precipitateness on matters of the highest moment, have been impelled to the most dangerous enterprizes. He must have observed, in the vicissitudes of government, that whilst his own cause has had truth for its basis, the cause of his opponents has been supported by the prejudices of the people, and all the parade of eloquence. He must have seen things, honourable in their source, terminate in the most disastrous catastrophe,

when opposed by the tide of popular inclination. Revolving all these circumstances with himself, and applying them to the above-mentioned tumultuous occurrences, he will be led to doubt whether they are more nefarious in themselves, or alarming by their consequences. He will lament the infirmity of our nature, more prone to admit the evil than its remedy; and will remark with regret how difficult it is to limit the influence of example. He who does this will frequently have in mind the saying of Polybius, 'The people in themselves possess an unlimited power; which being the case, the government will bear the appearance of liberty, and its fairest title, a Democracy. But it will, in reality, be exposed to the worst of evils, the caprice of a domineering multitude.' What this grave and sensible writer observed—'That the source of every change for the worse, was the ambitious pursuit of honours, whether it ended in success or disappointment'—has certainly been true with respect to an undertaking, great in itself, and promising in its aspect.

It

IT is sufficiently obvious, that many things which are at first denied commendation, become very beneficial in their consequences.

IN the number of these, we must place that law which was proposed by a certain illustrious character, relative to the affairs of India, but which was set aside by the House of Peers in the most dishonourable manner. It is impossible to be ignorant how versatile and precarious are the sentiments of mankind; how powerful is the breath of rumour, and the tide of popular assemblies; all of which, they who have the ear of the people, are careful to collect and convert to their purpose. For these reasons, whenever it is thought necessary to introduce any innovation, I deem it advisable to pay some regard to the temper of the times; and to comply, in certain instances, with the prejudices of the people. To those who are vehemently angry with Mr. Fox, for proposing some novel experiments in a business, and on an occasion, altogether without precedent—I answer, in the words of Canuleius, ‘ Will no circum-

‘stances justify innovations? and must those
 ‘things, which have utility for their ob-
 ‘ject, not be done, because they never have
 ‘been done before*?’

BUT by what principles of equity was that law supported? Upon those which religion itself will vindicate: for whatever is salutary to the commonwealth, should be esteemed both just and lawful.

IT is the part of an ingenuous man, of a man conscientious in the discharge of his duty, to pursue those measures which have the approbation of the virtuous, although attended with danger; rather than those which, though more secure in themselves, and more applauded by the multitude, promise less of eventual advantage.

IT is ordained by nature, that they who address themselves to the favour of the multitude, generally secure it; whilst those who are endowed with greater wisdom, are often listened to with disapprobation and reluctance. In that great change of things to

* Livy.

which

which we allude, we cannot but acknowledge, that the occasion of exciting odium presented itself. Yet am I well assured, that they who wished to counteract the dangerous tendency of Asiatic wealth, and the exercise of exorbitant power, consulted both for the good and the glory of their countrymen. We may safely apply to them the words of Claudius, ‘ That although they acted in opposition to popular prejudices, neither their words nor their actions were inimical to the public utility*.

SUCH as are desirous to overwhelm Mr. Fox with a torrent of invidious and reproachful language, boisterously declare that the people of England asserted a becoming dignity, in repelling the injury intended them, and in frustrating the detestable attempts of an individual, to obtain enormous and kingly power. Let not the kingly title hereafter be applied to Mr. Fox, unless he be thought to merit that distinction, from delivering his sentiments with manly freedom in the great assembly of the nation; from his deeming it mean and contempti-

* Livy.

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ble,

ble, to be the servile instrument of any individual, or of any party; from his consulting the general interests of the people, without accommodating himself to all their caprices; from his not stooping to men of greater influence, but of less integrity than himself; from his resisting their nefarious designs and unparalleled audacity.

IF there be any who esteem the injurious insults offered to that venerable body, of small or of no importance, let such be reminded, 'That in the vigilant attention to similar incidents, our ancestors laid the foundation of their country's glory*.'

IT is not consistent with our present purpose, to investigate the sentiments of those who express a wonderful anxiety for the due preservation of the royal prerogative. I have frequently suspected, that they who, on this subject, have tormented themselves and others, with such sad and terrific images, have not so much been deluded by their own want of sagacity, as obstructed in the accesses to truth, by personal malignity and

* Livy.

envy. The generality of their assertions seemed not, in my opinion, to require the serious energy of pointed argumentation; but to be attacked with the greatest success by easy and good-humoured ridicule. Whatever force such cavillings received from the semblance of reasoning, or the acrimony of reproach, was effectually repelled in that speech of Mr. Burke's, which, in the opinion of all men competent to decide upon political questions, could admit of no improvement, and required no emendation.

WHOEVER, with attentive diligence, has perused the composition to which I allude, will feel his warmest indignation excited against those expressions, which a certain Mr. Wilberforce lately used in the senate, with peculiar asperity and insolence; which the Minister, with clamorous and unhallowed voice, repeated; and which the crowd of his weak and credulous followers listened to with rude delight and absurdest acquiescence.

DESTITUTE of every sense of shame, they did not hesitate to declare, that the
vigour

vigour of Burke was no more, or had degenerated into second childhood. It may perhaps be conceded, that the occasion did not demand his accustomed neatness of style, or harmony of expression. And yet did not that speech seem rather distinguished by the silvery honours and maturity of experience? But when I grant that there were any marks or testimonies of old age, let those wranglers bear in mind, 'I can only mean the 'venerable age of another Homer*.'

THAT the infirmities of nature will appear, when our spirits are harassed, and our indignation provoked, may be confessed without any reluctance. But the great cause in question we have pursued to the best of our abilities, through the various intricacies of law, and all the labyrinths which lead to truth. It appeared to us to have no one quality injurious to virtue, no one object detrimental to the state. With how much greater success the present Minister will conduct the affairs of India, must be determined by the event. The event alone can shew, whether his measures, how-

* Longinus.

ever specious in appearance, may justly be preferred to those which promised to be more eventually useful. That law, which has at least our approbation, was but very partially understood—was but little examined by those who reprobated it with extremest violence; who inveighed against its authors, not with insolence alone (for that is no uncommon failing), but with an unfeeling rudeness altogether without precedent.

I AM not to learn the severity of invective, aimed at what is termed the Coalition. It is one thing to use reproachful language; to support an accusation, is another. This office of pouring out abuse can be entitled to no man's praise, but I am exceedingly astonished that the Minister should be the person to undertake it; it was neither becoming in itself, nor consistent with his age. Nevertheless, young as he was, he condescended, on this occasion, to display all the powers of his eloquence; and it must be confessed, that although supported by men not easily abashed, not one of them all could have hastened with more alacrity
to

to the attack, or supported the contest with more characteristic ardour and pertinacity.

I, for my part, am well assured, that those characters whom he lashed with all the severity of his father's manner, and all the acuteness of the Censorian style, never in imagination thought of injuring the commonwealth. They were not only able to vindicate their conduct, but they had many claims to commendation. Whatever has been objected to the Coalition, and however frequently this has been echoed by the tongues of unprincipled men, it will never make an impression, either on Fox or North, forcible enough to make them repent of having buried their former enmities in oblivion. If their sentiments have in some instances submitted to change, they still defy the imputation of inconstancy. When the state had in a manner expired, from the oppression of a calamitous and fatal war, they considered, with the cool deliberation of reason, not only what was expedient for the public good, but what was most becoming and honourable for themselves,

selves. They were of opinion, the wounds of that war could then alone be healed, when a solid, consistent union of all the virtuous could be effected, even by violent means, from the various sentiments and prejudices of a divided, a distracted nation. They exerted themselves to lay the foundation of domestic tranquillity. They followed the example of the Athenians of old ; and determined that the very remembrance of ancient enmities should be buried in eternal oblivion. They failed in their object, not from any depravity of their own, but from their own ideas of their duty, and the particular predicament of the state. They pursued the conduct by which Æmilius Lepidus and Fulvius Flaccus formerly obtained universal praise. One thing alone gives me the most serious and painful concern, that they did not imitate the conduct of Themistocles and Aristides ; that a patriotic principle did not, during the progress of the war, conciliate and unite them together.

ENMITIES have been formed which would admit of justification, even with citizens

tizens of deserving character : but having seen these consigned to oblivion, I could not imagine that any individual, attached to the interests of his country, could, unprovoked, indulge an inimical spirit against Mr. Fox, whose patriotic principles had been sufficiently conspicuous. The event disappointed my expectations. The Minister seems to think, that to stand forth as an accuser, is neither hazardous in itself, nor injurious to his fame. He does not think it at all prejudicial to his dignity, to indulge the natural acrimony of his temper in the exercise of his high office. Others there have been, who have consulted the delicate predicament of the times, and his unconciliating temper—‘ Does this, O Tullio, seem so heinously criminal*?’ If this be the case, I aver that such an imputation alike partakes of petulance and injustice, particularly when aimed at individuals engaged in a far nobler cause. Such is my opinion ; nor can the Minister himself assert that his motives of conduct flow from a purer source, when he reflects on those who favour and support him.

* Cicero.

I AM proud to contend, that the cause I vindicate merits in itself no rude, no coarse appellations ; but they are least of all becoming from your lips. Are you apprehensive that you should ever be suspected of the atrocious crime of forgetting injuries ? How vain such fears ! No one will ever attach to your character so much gentleness of temper, or magnanimity of soul. It is not in your nature to deserve well of your country, by restraining the emotions of anger or of hatred. You have introduced, in self-vindication, and support the hallowed name of Majesty ; but do not therefore imagine that your adversaries must necessarily pay humble and obsequious deference to your authority. Your words, tumid and founding as they are, will be disdained by those who can thoroughly develope the characters of yourself and your confederates. Very little reflection upon this subject must satisfy the most superficial observer, that no lasting unanimity can be expected from minds so variously tempered, or from views so contradictory to each other.

THEY who carefully explore the recesses of your mind, will easily see, that to follow
with

with impunity the impulse of the will, is your definition of the regal power.

HE who rests his judgment on the fallacious decisions of the multitude, or the opinions of the ignorant, can never be deemed an exalted character; his conclusions can never be fixed and determinate, even for the shortest period of time. They who, like the prophetic birds of Pfaphon, believe the fortune of the Minister to be consistent, permanent, and appropriate, speak a very different language. I would wish such persons candidly to examine with me the particular situation of public affairs, and what various sentiments are entertained concerning the great idol of their praise.

IF the more temperate of our countrymen either hear with reluctance, or disdain to yield, the tribute of adulation which is expected, there is always at hand some time-serving follower of the Minister, to soothe and to flatter the multitude.

THE arguments by which the delusion is enforced, are of this kind: ' Let us not waste
' our breath in needless argumentation; let
us

• us not determine what they ought to do.
• Suffer them to rule in peace ; being well
• assured of this, which is all that is neces-
• sary, that they are attached to the King,
• and will not forget their friends. Leave
• the rest to fate : follow my advice, and
• make yourselves happy.'

THEY who are biaſſed by motives of interest alone, blush not to continue in the sentiment which they have deliberately sold at a certain and rated value. Others there are who, having once avowed an attachment, superstitiously bind themselves to what they deem a sacred obligation. They who have taught themselves to believe, that, wherever political influence prevails, a certain degree of deference should follow—acknowledge, much to their dishonour, that his youth and his virtues sufficiently justify both their present confidence and their future hopes. Of many others, the mental exertions have subsided ; not from any negligence of temper, but from concert and design : these acknowledge very frankly, that they can discern where their confidence ought not to be placed, but cannot discover

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those

those whose principles deserve it. They observe, ‘That those who have the care of
 ‘the government are indisputably bad: if
 ‘any one of them does one good action by
 ‘chance, he will probably do ten bad ones
 ‘by design: if you change them, the
 ‘change will, in all likelihood, be for the
 ‘worse*.’

OTHERS apply to the Minister what Tacitus has said of Galba—‘That, if he
 ‘had not actually conducted the helm of
 ‘government, the unanimous consent of
 ‘the public would have thought him qualified to do so.’ With respect to some, when the murmurs of applause, excited amongst his friends by his ostentatious eloquence, have died gradually away, ‘truth
 ‘and merit have re-assumed their powers,
 ‘and become too strong for empty adulation†:’ they have weighed his actions in the same balance with his words, have penetrated the mazes of his mind, and beheld him at length stripped of all his supposititious aids and coverings of dissimulation.

* Aristophanes.

† Quintilian.

MEN of real dignity and consequence see, with equal astonishment and indignation, many obtruded amongst them, of no hereditary claims or intrinsic merit. In the Lower House, such senators as are more illustriously distinguished, cannot, without secret murmurs of regret, observe the suffrages of the people, however constitutionally exerted, place certain individuals amongst them: many of them Asiatic plunderers, exulting in their ill-gotten affluence: others, men of mean and low extraction, totally ignorant and unpolished; in favour of whom the old Roman edict should be revived—‘ In the name of God, shew
‘ my Lord, the new senator, his way to the
‘ senate-house.’ Whilst they whose reflections are serious, and conclusions just, are filled with honest indignation at the idea of being subservient to loquacious youths; and that they who have but a mere smattering of knowledge, should be dreaded as superiors. They are inclined to remember what was the exclamation of the Ephesians on their expelling Hermodorus from their city—‘ Amongst us there must be an entire
‘ equality: whoever prides himself on supe-

‘rior excellence, let him choose his refi-
• dence elfewhere *.’

WITH respect to the multitude in general, it is fufficiently notorious, that, fwayed by their attention to the voice of rumour, they determine upon precipitate but momentous projects, of which they as haftily repent : their attachments are confequently precarious and inexplicable ; and the foftest whifperings of fame will fometimes produce an entire change in their opinions. They are incautious and negligent as to the refult of their determinations ; and, after having acted with decifion, they are unable to explain the motives of their conduct. Such, therefore, who long fince caught the infection, and were influenced by its rage, do not, at the prefent day, know the extent of their former infatuation. A constant and ever-varying fluctuation of fentiment muft infallibly diftinguifh thofe, who pay greater attention to the approbation of men than to the intereffs of the ftate. Such is the difpofition of thefe characters, that, the more deliberate and reluctant their firft

* Cicero.

commence-

commencement of enmities is, so much the more pertinacious is their subsequent asperity. From these reasons we are led to conclude, that the authority lately entrusted to the present Minister, great as it may seem, carries in its own bosom the seeds of its unavoidable dissolution: let him therefore beware how he exert his power beyond the limits of discretion, whenever he enters upon measures of importance, without sufficiently attending to their consequences: let him beware lest his inexperience involve him in the mazes of fallacy, so as to prevent his extricating himself without injury, whenever he shall hereafter be more prudently disposed. Let him be cautious, that, when he lays aside his dignity, he be not obliged to exclaim, in the language given to Demetrius by Æschylus, 'Thou, who hast exalted me, art the occasion of my ruin.'

IN reply to these our admonitions, the Minister will, probably assert, that those honours which the deliberate applauses of the people confer upon an individual, are the rewards of virtuous conduct; and that

whoever has their favourable prejudices and suffrages, may be satisfied with himself, and merits all that he enjoys.—I am justified in denying my assent to this, by the authority of Quintus Cicero, who took occasion, from the repeated and sudden ruin of the most illustrious Romans, to entreat his brother to withdraw himself from scenes of tumult and contention. I am farther justified, from having seen men of profligate characters attain the highest dignity, to whom opportunity has not been more favourable than the partial voice of their fellow-citizens. And these my sentiments are still more corroborated by various arguments to be found in a multitude of books, in the opinions of the wise, and the examples of antiquity.

GREAT and loud has been the clamour excited by the American War. The vicious source from which it first originated, has been little examined, and less understood. On the subject of this calamity too much is said, but not all that is essential. Amongst the numerous promoters of that war, one individual is singled out, and persecuted

secuted with all the temerity of hatred and anger; which when the uncandid can do with impunity, they are satisfied with seeing how much clamour can effect, and believe they have properly discharged their duty as citizens. There are others who have experienced serious alarm from the exercise of that branch of the prerogative, which is said to have been somewhat too prodigal in heaping money and affluence upon men of the lowest estimation. But whenever I seriously deliberate with myself concerning the probable causes of these events which have recently happened, I am inclined to impute to another source the evils which have injured our country. There is a certain description of individuals, who, whilst they affect to disdain power, in reality exercise it. If such an unrestrained lust of ambition predominate in our present Minister; if he, our Iulus, desire seriously to know where his glory, his triumphs are to terminate; we inform him that there is a band, a courtly band, of public enemies, whom, without injury to his country, he may honourably vanquish. If he aspire after a character for valour and for patriot-

ism, I entreat, I adjure him to make those insidious wretches the objects of his just resentments. I wish him to turn his weapons, all the force and skill of his oratorical powers, against those wild beasts, who, to use the language of his father, lurk in the dark, and have done so for a long time ;
' who, in the midst of the throne, and
' round about the throne, are full of eyes
' before and behind *.'

THAT the state is in a frail and enervate condition, I readily acknowledge. I confess there are very few who have the power to administer its remedy, or who ought to be entrusted with it : for which reason, it appears necessary to examine, with greater seriousness, the system by which it has so long been conducted ; and to explain the actions or the intentions of those, who have been, or who now are, in the confidence of the Minister. Revolving these matters in my mind, the first character which presents itself is that illustrious personage, under whose auspices every tumultuous agitation was changed for the

* Revelations,

quiescent

quiescent indolence of peace ; whose good faith, and tenacity to his engagements, are so exceedingly conspicuous, ' he was named ' Dofon, as one ready to make, but backward in performing, promises *.' There are who believe this man to have been the original occasion of the mischief ; and, like Rufinus, to have sown discord between the two parties. For my propensity towards the same opinion, I urge the following reasons,

THEY who, unprepared, are called upon to act from the exigence of unexpected occasion, are generally wavering and undecided in their conduct ; but so profoundly does Dofon meditate on all things, so well is he armed against every possible contingency, so full of insidioufness and treachery, that if any thing occur beyond his hopes, or contrary to his opinion, he is able in a moment to comprehend and make the most of its tendency. For such conduct he had the sanction of example : he had read in Livy that it became a good general to improve opportunity, and convert to his own

* Plutarch.

advantage

advantage the smiles of fortune. The mild and unassuming wisdom of Lælius*, he well knew, must be an obstacle to his views, gaping as he was for honours, and ambitious of the highest dignity. The anxious and amiable sollicitude of Lælius for his country, had obtained the good will and affection of all parties; Dofon was therefore aware, that the death of this excellent man would leave a clear and unobstructed field before him. All the faculties of his fruitful soul were exercised; he determined, however, finally to enjoy the glorious success of artifice, or incur certain ruin. Rejecting, therefore, all communication with those, who might either develope his projects, or strenuously resist his ambition, he made the present Minister his confederate in the administration of affairs,

THEY who divide authority, seldom have confidence in each other. The principle of mutual convenience, which generally introduces such unions, from change of time and circumstances, operates to its dissolution. Dofon, ever restless, was dis-

* Marquis of Rockingham.

satisfied

satisfied in the very possession of the honours which had exercised his hopes. In the course of a few months, by his advice, and through his assistance, Mr. Pitt ascended the ministerial throne, who immediately used all the energy and influence of his station, to depress the power of his friend; of the very man through whom he had obtained a weight in the senate, which would otherwise have been denied to his youth and inexperience. When Dofon was but the second in power, he seemed desirous to retain more influence than was annexed to his situation: but that young man, who can neither bear superior nor equal, repelled him with acrimony and disdain. What was the consequence? Dofon exclaims that he envies neither the fortune nor the virtue of Sylla, who complained to his friends that he was, in his old age, compelled to contend with striplings. He assumes, therefore, that good old style of life, neither tinged with malice, nor accustomed to deceit; unobscured by vulgar, or even polished dissimulation. He confesses his inglorious love of ease, of that retirement which is remote from the tumult and falsehoods of
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the world. He whispers, that the secret paths to ambition others may explore in the city; to him, the meads and plains are preferable. He who discharges the duties of a good man (for that term has, by some one or other, been applied in the senate to Dofon) can never, in the nature of things, communicate alarm to his fellow-citizens, or possibly interrupt the public tranquillity.

OF that orator, who carries menace and terror on his brow, we think the eloquence Thraſonic, and deſpiſe its loudeſt thunder; whoſe aſpect, like the younger Novius, repels all underlings and petitioners. His appearance never fails to communicate the idea of outrage, and his countenance is alike gloomy and terrific. Of his dark frown what ſhall we ſay? It is a pledge, perhaps, for the ſecurity of the ſtate; or probably the ſenate may reſt upon it, as the heavens upon the ſhoulders of Atlas.

WE are informed that Novius is verſed in every ſpecies of aſperity, and that the ſpirit

spirit of his genius is prompt to acts of inhumanity. Take from him, however, that vehemence which distinguished Brutus, the bitterness of Menippus, and that fullness of visage so peculiarly his own, and he may be properly enough left to decide on points of jurisprudence, and perplexities of law.

His style of oratory is warm and petulant; neither remarkable for its neatness, nor offensive from its vulgarity. His attempts at ridicule, or humour, are mean and disagreeable. His words, however, are well chosen, his oratory rapid, and his tones sufficiently clear and strong. His replies to his opponents are constantly acrimonious; he exercises all the figures of the profession; his constructions of the law are artful and malignant; he becomes gradually so vehement and furious, that he exceeds all bounds of decorum, and, I had almost said, of reason.

His fortune, like that of many others, corresponded with the qualities of his mind. He had learned from Mucianus, that the man who fears, willingly assigns importance
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to him whom he fears. Vast in his person, bold in his sentiments, pompous in his words, and powerful, not so much in the qualities of wisdom, as in the consequence which he gives to trifles, he has secured the prejudices of the Upper House. He has obtained all that could possibly be expected by a man of mean extraction, with the aid of oratorical abilities. What would disgrace the pure characters of Titius and Seius, may come with propriety from Novius, who, escaped from the lower courts of judicature, now presides at an august tribunal; and, from a common pleader at the bar, is become the director of senatorial eloquence.—The influence which Q. Varrius, a huge but beastly fellow, once obtained by his powers of speech amongst his citizens, Novius, by similar attainments, imagines he has obtained in the senate.

‘ Confident and shrewd,

— ‘ His look bespeaks him of some consequence;

‘ A grave severity is in his face,

‘ And credit in his words*.’

INSOLENCE and bitterness of speech have sometimes, however, considerable impres-

* Colman’s Terence. AND.

sion:

sion : but he who is constantly severe and overbearing ; who obstructs the justest cause by conclusions too acute to be ingenuous, who injures its weight, or impedes its operation by insidious fallacies ; who always endeavours to harass his opponents by reproachful and obstreperous language, may be fairly deemed a litigious and sophistical declaimer.—The full purport of this observation, and the distinction which I wish to preserve, will better appear from the words of Aristotle, than from mine:—‘ As
‘ in every dispute injustice exhibits different species, and has also certain unjustifiable modes of vindication, I consider
‘ contradiction as one of these disputative modes. They who contend for the sake
‘ of contention, may be termed captious
‘ lovers of dispute ; they who avail themselves of every advantage from sinister
‘ views, may be termed sophists.’

If Novius should ever peruse my sentiments of his character, I would desire him not ‘ to shake his tremendous head at me.’ The severe and forbidding manner with which he ever addresses himself to others,
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will probably excite his indignation when directed against himself. I care not if he shall think me to have spoken of him with too much bitterness; it is the fair and reasonable consequence of the conduct which provoked it.

I WILL now address myself to him in a very different language; I will use that style of cheerfulness and good humour, which is always secure of favourable attention. It is my anxious wish that no long period may pass, before, worn out by business and by age, he willingly retreat from the cares of his high office, and spend the remainder of his days, with his beloved female companion, in affluence and ease.

SOME will perhaps imagine, that an amorous attachment is not entirely consistent with declining age, and that it casts a disgraceful shade on him whose earlier years have been splendidly conspicuous. But this is surely to judge with too much harshness. I speak in classic terms, but by no means as an accuser, when I say that Novius might have claimed the character of a good and deserving

deserving citizen, if his life had passed with no more offensive stain ; if he had done no more dishonourable action, than refusing, from the plea of age, to separate himself from her who had been the favourite and delight of his youth.

HE who, from his earliest years, has obtained a memorable name in the campaigns of the bar, as well as in the annals of gallantry, we may suppose, on the advance of age, to have acquired some ease of manners, and gentleness of temper. We may suppose satiety to have acted as a corrector of his errors, or at least to have smoothed their asperities. He will neither be tenacious of his prejudices, nor ashamed sometimes to depart from his opinion: he will suffer himself to be entreated and appeased. To those who have experienced the severity of his manner, he will address himself in the mild and polite language of Aristophanes—‘ You shall have no future
‘ occasion to complain of my moroseness;
‘ you shall find me hereafter easy of access,
‘ and candid in my decisions; and, as soon
‘ as I shall be released from the weight of
I ‘ public

‘ public business, you will see me assume
‘ the cheerfulness of youth.’

I AM not at all affected by the air of officiousness and bustle which a certain nobleman assumes. I forbear to mention his name, out of deference to those laws which so prudently protect the delicacy, and defend the honour, of the great. It will be easy, by allusion, to mark the individual who can, in hatred, exceed offended Majesty itself; who is so intemperate of speech, that there is hardly a name of distinction amongst us, which his tongue has not wounded: he who hates Themistocles, and is equally unable to love Aristides. Although neither pertinaciously just, nor anxious of appearing so, he is so bigoted to his own opinions, that not even the voice of an oracle, in favour of our wooden walls, could deter him from his mad, preposterous schemes of fortification machinery. In the whole tenour of his conduct he has been so uniformly insolent, so opinionated in his discharge of every public office, that his follies and imperiousness together have never failed to excite the disgust of those, who have thought
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it necessary to use his friendship. The good people of England have been reluctant in listening to those imputations which are aimed at the fame of the Minister; but they have been alike sagacious to penetrate, and unanimous to despise, whatever has obtained the cordial patronage of Miso-Themistocles. The fortifications of Hipparchus were proverbial at Athens; those have become equally so amongst ourselves, which have been produced at a most enormous expence, without the smallest probability of eventual benefit.

THE daring falsehoods of Clodius, which formerly inspired kings themselves with terror, cease now to allure a smile, or the faintest murmur of applause; for, having been again and again repeated, they excite fastidiousness amongst the lowest of the vulgar.

I HAVE before remarked of these four characters—of Dofon, Novius, Miso-Themistocles, and Clodius—that they ought by no means to awaken apprehension. But they who by the labyrinths of stratagem,

and whisperings of intrigue, attempt the accomplishment of their object—who fix their residence in the sacred recesses of the empire, watching, as over prey, the public miseries and discords—who accommodate themselves, with pliant versatility, to the complexion of the times—who, when the commonwealth is weak, make it yet weaker; when it is vigorous and strong, feed upon its vitals—who encourage our youth to forsake the shades of retirement, for scenes of fatigue and tumult; raising them on high, afterwards to depress them with accumulated ruin—these are the men whose dark designs communicate terror and alarm.

BEHOLD now the mighty, the enormous Thraſybulus! whose countenance and appearance afford amplest matter for ridicule. If you wish to know the quality of his eloquence, it is marked by no elegance or ornament, it is rude and offensive; always maimed, confused, and obscure. To this, add a prompt volubility of tongue, and impudence not soon or easily abashed; with a tone of voice, which, although I have heard, I shall find difficult to describe: it
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is by nature rustic and dissonant : it sometimes menaces him with suffocation ; at others it is harsh, as if passed over a file. In the constant exercise of his unwearied sides, it knows no pause ; it beats the air, and wounds the ear ; till broken, and as it were cut in two, it terminates in a scream. Cicero was of opinion that a harsh and rustic modulation is a manifest imperfection, notwithstanding there are who take pains to acquire it. But I never knew any one, Thrasylbulus alone excepted, who having a tone of voice most remarkably offensive, did not either endeavour to avoid it altogether, or at least try to soften its effect by ingenious artifice, or constant industry.

THEY who have seen the distortions of Thrasylbulus, sometimes to this side, sometimes to the other, are at a loss to imagine which will be favoured with his suffrage. Indeed the sentiment of Marius seems equally true and apposite with respect to him—That, to obtain eminence in the state, a man should never remember either injuries or kindness. Can he, however, be said ever to suffer from injury, whose zealous

service every man in power can direct, and command as he pleases? The interest therefore of Thrasybulus is secure, for he never knew what it was to blush. Tully observes that he had known some, who, not able to make themselves orators, had obtained proficiency in the knowledge of the laws. Very different motives impelled our Thrasybulus to this courtly, though perilous habit of life. That he should be constantly on the watch for new game, is not at all wonderful; appetite sharpens the wit, and expands the genius. As long as he continued in his own country, he was confined to the lower courts, and esteemed, even by the vulgar, rude and uncouth as an orator, and a mere child in legal knowledge. What his powers of speech were able to effect, the judges hardly gave themselves time to consider; but even they allowed him the merit of clamorous perseverance. His good fortune, therefore, was not complete and perfect; for although he possessed the two great requisites of a pleader, confidence and noise, he did not succeed in his profession. Nevertheless, he who was deemed by his countrymen to rank only with Leguleius and

and Blatero—a mere hunter of syllables, and guardian of forms—was by the fates designed to enter the lists of eloquence, with men of the most refined and exquisite accomplishments.

FROM a life of drudgery, he turned his attention to other habits; which is indeed frequently done by those who wish to escape calamity, or elude misfortune. He had read, we believe, that the ancient Germans inured the less tractable and more misshapen of their cattle to undergo the greatest labour, by the effect of constant exercise. This man, therefore, born to stoop beneath a servile yoke, took care to discover in his character the fortitude which deliberately defies all danger, and the patience which can acquiesce under the greatest difficulties. He conceived that his merit would not only be more conspicuous, but more splendid, if he openly confessed that no eye should ever discover, in his conduct, a reluctance to undertake measures of a difficult nature, or a fastidious delicacy with respect to those which appeared base, and were thought dishonourable. By being every
 I 4 thing

thing with every body, he insinuated himself into the favour of the great. He then entered on senatorial duty; a situation full of care, and exposed to much mortification. His tongue was, if we may be allowed the expression, always in the water. He took a deliberate survey of the different advantages of peace—affluence—power—the public revenues—the army; and how the eventual result of each was likely to affect his own individual interest. He submitted to various difficulties, and bore very patiently a great deal of arrogance from others, without any detriment to his own dignity: in short, the wish of others was the rule of his conduct and his words,

UPON this unceasing, and perhaps dishonourable labour, he rested, as upon a solid basis; and expanded himself far beyond the common limits of human glory. The labour of undertaking to convince and persuade those of elevated condition, his conduct has amply testified; but to extol their good or their dishonest conduct with undeviating praise, he has shewn to be his habit, his excellence, and his duty.

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He has never, therefore, condescended to palliate his conduct by any speciousness of apology; he has declared openly and boldly, with Marcus Terentius, ‘It is not for us
‘to estimate the intrinsic virtues of him
‘whom you have raised to glory, or the
‘motives of your partiality: to you the
‘Gods have given the perfection of judgment; the glory of obedience must be
‘ours*.’

INTOXICATED with the favours of fortune, he openly enrolls his name amongst those of most distinguished excellence. He avows himself ever prepared to undertake and suffer every thing, provided he retains his station, and touches the golden reward. To such a degree of levity has he arrived, that he thinks he may bask in security under the shade of an illustrious name. In favour of his systematic scheme of life he quotes these words, which he utters aloud in the very spirit of Cicero, and whispers in secret to his friends—‘That if he does not constantly
‘express himself in the same language, he
‘has unalterably the same object in view†.’

* Tacitus.

† Cic. Epist.

THE man who pursues this line of conduct, is no doubt satisfied with himself, that he does what is grateful to those with whom he is connected; that, when he unites opinions as contradictory as possible to each other, he still remains perfectly consistent with himself. It is the first, it is the dearest object of his heart, that the character he sustains should continue unchanged, from the commencement of any undertaking, to its conclusion; that, as circumstances alter, his sentiments should be suffered to alter along with them; and that a kind of consistency should be fixed to his most inconsistent actions.

WHAT fortune can accomplish, whenever she chooses to wanton with bold and daring characters, Thrasybulus has seen and known. One principle is immutably rooted in his mind—That every man is indebted for his success to himself; and that many may enjoy uninterrupted prosperity by consulting the moment of opportunity, rather than the interests of the public. The words of Pompey are constantly in his mouth—not as a matter to be disputed, but as a golden

golden rule of life—That ‘ more people
‘ worship the rising, than the setting sun*.’
He is conscious also of many qualities, in
a manner peculiar to himself, which faci-
litate his advances to power and to wealth.
Our Thrasylbulus has no occasion for pre-
ceding and established fame, to prove whe-
ther any cause immediately before him, is
honourable to record, or equitable to pur-
sue. When he enters upon it, he can pos-
sibly have nothing to lose; if it terminate
in dishonour, nought is expected from him
to alleviate its infamy. With respect to his
future hopes, he is perfectly secure. Fear-
ing to give a wound even to the guilty,
he gently relaxes the rigours of his elo-
quence; and whatever he can detract from
the resentments of others, he suffers with
resignation to descend upon himself. This
man’s character alone, will enable us to
form a perfect idea of the generality of
great men’s friends. Upon such as these
the Minister, without reserve, depends.
Surrounded by these, in contradiction to
every rule of right, he has arrived at that
summit after which his soul aspired. These,

* Plutarch.

creeping from their hiding places, publicly attend him as companions. 'Oh sad reverse of morals, and lost dignity of the senate*!'—with so little equanimity does he bear success, that he has placed, with unabashed confidence, such men as these in the public senate of the nation, the supporters of his fame, and partners of his counsels.

'Some messenger shall go from hence to fate,
'And to his father his foul deeds relate†.'

For my part, although I have never involved myself in any civil commotions, it has been my ambition to be, and to appear, the friend of the most virtuous. It has been my rule of conduct to follow the impulse of my judgment and my conscience, without any regard to the praise or the opinions of others. Many, perhaps, will affect surprize at my great attachment to a cause, which seems deserted by the king, the senate, and the people. Others will probably require a spirit of temperance, the more difficult, because evidently inconsistent; telling us to consider those as the more

* Horat.

† DRYDEN'S Virgil.

upright

upright characters, who positively forbid us to think what we please—rather than those, who esteem it a mark of contumely to speak what we think.

THE cause itself, however, remains the same; it is fixed and immutable. We confess that the envy and iniquity of the times has so far receded, that what was reprehensible in the contingent circumstances, can now do less of injury; but what was good in the cause, will have a beneficial operation.

WE cannot omit relating, that, for these three last years, the friends of the Minister have in every place, and amongst all descriptions of men, indulged the most extreme licentiousness of speech. The fatigue of writing was, for some time, assigned to ignorant and vulgar men: but as a writer has lately appeared of somewhat more respectable attainments, we think it, on our part, pusillanimous to be silent*. This author observes, that Galba, Otho, and Vitellius had distinguished him by no acts

* Political State of Great Britain. 1787.

of injury or of kindness. We believe he might have said, with greater propriety, that Vespasian began, Titus increased, and Domitian still farther extended, the honours after which he ambitiously laboured.

THE cause itself, abstractedly considered, is simple and intelligible; the artifices, however, of abandoned men, have rendered its vindication full of uncertainty and danger. Whatever may be the public opinion of me, I submit to it with all patience, looking with some confidence to the favour of the wise and good. But I must be most particularly on my guard against those, who with a superstitious zeal, blind as that which marked the disciples of Pythagoras, consider every expression of the Minister as hallowed; who venerate the present unprecedented form of civil discipline, as a religious idol; who either designedly misconstrue the sentiments of others, or prove that 'the result of their knowledge is, that they know nothing*.' I would wish them to bear in mind, if at any time they peruse this performance, that it becomes them to

* Terent.

defend

defend themselves without passion, and to refute me without insolence. Let them beware of casting reproach upon what we profess to admire, least, as they were formerly made by name the merry burden of the Rolliad's song, each individual hear aloud of his particular misdeeds. That I may not incur suspicions which I do not in reality deserve, I will explain more at length my sentiments of the commonwealth.

THAT the state not only may, but that it has received the severest wounds from those who affect to be most ardent in defending its liberties, is what I always have believed—from those very men who prate idly and fancifully of a government free and perfect in all its parts; and who then most appear to have come from the dregs of the people, when they talk, with pompous, petulant absurdity, of Plato's system. It gives us some chagrin and uneasiness to see all power, and the very nerves of the empire, vibrate upon the will of the senate; that they should be ranked undistinguished amongst the decided enemies of their country, who in private, or in a trifling degree, violate the dignity of the people's representatives,

tives, or who artfully and maliciously invade their constitutional authority. That we are averse to the kingly title, is by no means the case; that the prerogative, as it is defined by the laws, should be preserved uninjured, as a sacred public edifice, becomes the duty, in our opinion, of a well constituted government. If the monarch has himself ever given proofs of his attachment to the state, we yield him our thanks and gratitude: the justice and the piety of his private life, have been equally the object of our pride and exultation. Sovereigns are placed in that delicate predicament, that their morals, whether good or the contrary, have the greatest influence upon the public at large.—But it has excited our warmest indignation, to behold men lately fluttering round the royal residence, whose principles lead them to detest cordially, and without discrimination, like Cassius, all governors—or, like Brutus, all government*. These have descended to solicit, with the most eager and pressing importunity, the royal grace and favour: and in return for what? For the unrestrain-

* Plutarch.

ed language of insult and reproach.—There have been men, who in their time enjoyed the character of wisdom, whose opinion it was, that nothing could be consigned to more durable infamy, or make so strong an impression upon the human memory, as the circumstance of giving offence, where resentments were as severe, as power was extensive. That sentiment indeed is borrowed from Heroic times: we read in Homer,

- ‘ Bold is the task, when subjects, grown too wise,
- ‘ Instruct a monarch where his error lies;
- ‘ For though we deem the short-liv’d fury past,
- ‘ ’Tis sure the mighty will revenge at last.’

BUT, in these our days, much more odium is incurred by those who study to gratify both the king and the people, than by those who, whilst they wound the former with the asperity of Theon, soothe and mislead the others by delusion and by falsehood. It is peculiar and appropriate to us of this country, that our great men should never indulge the odious remembrance of injuries; that they should show themselves placable to individuals of the most opposite principles and conduct; that they should be marked, if we may be allowed the ex-

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pression,

pression, by a spirit of gentle inconstancy. The motive of such behaviour is, no doubt, laudable and consistent; they, who once behaved with insolent audacity, may perhaps change with changing circumstances, and render themselves useful. They may lay aside, perhaps, their haughty and untractable spirits; and, though it may seem a little ungraceful, they may bend their stubborn minds to the humility of obsequiousness.

WE are far from conceiving it to be the duty of a good citizen to 'kick against the pricks:' on the contrary, the better he thinks of the state in which he lives, the more cautious and delicate will he be in the delivery of his sentiments. To us it appears to be no violation of candour or propriety, if we point, with the diffidence of caution, to the main spring of the machine.

SUCH is the condition of human affairs, that a man may possess the exercise of supreme authority, although by no means of elevated birth. The rights of mankind
may

may suffer gradual violence from those who wish to depress all claims of dignity, and exertions of genius ; who are not only envious of virtue, but desirous to oppress and chastise it.—‘ They who think these
‘ splendid distinctions most securely protected, when dependant on the will of
‘ an individual, may enjoy momentary
‘ emotions of transport, but will probably
‘ suffer in the end severe and continued
‘ remorse*.’

THESE our sentiments have been expressed with a kind of prophetic ardour, without listening to any solicitation, without any view of conciliating the favour of the great. If we shall be thought to have spoken in too exalted terms of the men to whom we have inscribed this work of Bellendenus, that which they may truly say of themselves, will avail also to our justification. The sentiment of Pindar is here peculiarly apposite—When one told him that he praised him on every occasion, and in every company—‘ I thank you,’ he

* Sallust.

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replied,

replied, ‘and will be careful to support
‘ your character for veracity*.’

To one excellent and illustrious man† that I have paid no studied panegyric, although possessing amplest materials for the purpose, I vindicate myself from the example of Antalcides, who replied to a certain sophist, desirous of reciting the praises of Hercules, ‘ Did any one ever ‘ utter a syllable to his dishonour?’ I shall encourage no sentiments but those of contemptuous disdain, with respect to the insinuations of malignity, the scurrilous loquacity of the half-learned, and all that variety of abuse generally heaped upon the friends of truth. I declare, with every protestation of solemnity, that I have in no one instance been influenced by personal animosity or envy.

I HAVE distinguished the cause from those who support it; hating the one, but not the other: which sentiment I particularly apply to that young man, in whom

* Plutarch.

† D—e of P—d.

I will-

I willingly confess to have discovered proofs both of virtue and of genius, when first he entered the career of glory. Betwixt the barrier and the goal, however, a long distance, and various objects, intervene. The way itself is insidious, 'puzzled with mazes, 'and perplexed with errors.' To advance or recede, is attended with equal difficulty and danger.—Why should I dissemble my sentiments? His colleagues seem to have brought him down from the skies, and to have succeeded in making him, not like his connections, but most preposterously unlike himself,

SUCH is my respect for the dignity of his venerable office, that I would most willingly not have uttered a word in his dispraise. But what I have said has been in a manner extorted from me by his petulance and pride; by that bitterness of reproach which, without discrimination, he heaps upon every more deserving character; by his using indiscreetly, and retaining unwisely, the power which he obtained by the most unjustifiable measures.

YET should I discover a want both of gratitude and justice, if I were silently to pass over the late actions of the Minister, or render them too sparing a tribute of applause. That he has, in a manly manner, defended the rights of the church, and made his eloquence a kind of sedulous handmaid to the political sagacity of Lord North, claims and deserves the highest commendation. In what relates to the Asiatic governor, he seems to have recovered the energy of his mind; to have lent his strenuous exertions in bringing to the light of day that truth, which so long was buried under a most enormous pressure.

OF this young man it may be said, that he has undertaken what would have alarmed the prudent, and accomplished what could only have been expected from the most fortunate. If, by a continued course of ingenuous discipline, he had improved and adorned the powers he possesses—if he had been satisfied with a more moderate exercise of authority—the assent of the good would have given to the maturity of his age, what he has been ardent to obtain by tumultuous

tumultuous exertions, by ostentatious self-parade, by the aid of a deluded multitude.

HURRIED along as he is by the tide of ambition, I submit the following words of Plutarch to his most serious attention :

‘ I AM of opinion that they who by
‘ accident, or without the exercise of fore-
‘ sight, stumble upon power as into a well,
‘ will of necessity suffer the solicitude of
‘ repentance. They who enter upon it with
‘ deliberation and firmness, are prepared
‘ for every occurrence ; having no object in
‘ view but the honourable discharge of
‘ duty.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

THE political Sentiments of the Editor of BELLENDENUS, with his Observations on Men and Measures, are here brought to a Conclusion. We have, nevertheless, not thought it improper to complete the Preface, by translating what remains of it; in which the Editor proceeds to describe more at length the Character, Situation, and Performances of BELLENDENUS, with a few detached Sentiments on Literature interspersed; interesting to Scholars, though not connected with what precedes.

It may not be improper to inform the Readers, that, according to our Conception of the Dramatis Personæ,

DOSON is the M—q—s of L—nfd—e;

NOVIUS, the Ch—nc—ll—r;

MISO-THEMISTOCLES, D—e of R—d;

THRASYBULUS, Mr. D—s;

CLODIUS, Mr. W—s

C O N C L U S I O N.

HAVING now passed beyond those shoals and rocks, which menaced us with so much danger, we have a clear and unobstructed course before us, and are at liberty to give a more particular account of BELLENDENUS. He was by birth a Scotchman; and so distinguished by his genius and literary attainments, as to deserve the expression constantly applied by the learned to Buchanan—‘He was rather to be called a light, than a ‘man, of Scotland.’ As far as conjecture may determine, he was descended of an ancient and honourable family. Of his particular situation, and habits of life, we have been able to collect no certain information.

DEMPSTER, in his *Lives of the Scotch Writers*, says, that ‘Gulielmus Bellendenus’ was Humanity Professor at Paris, in 1602. He was ‘Master of Requests*’ to James the Sixth

* ‘Magister Supplicum Libellorum.

of Scotland, whose particular favour he enjoyed.

By way of explaining to the Reader the nature and meaning of this title, we subjoin what follows: 'The inhabitants of Sicily had 'a magistrate termed *Libellensis*, the same with 'the *Magister Libellorum* of others; whose office 'it was to receive petitions, and to make a report of them, after examination, to the Sovereign.'—*Constitut. Sicul. lib. i. tit. 38. § 2.*—See also Du Cange, *Glossar. vol. ii. supplicare*, 'to offer a written supplication to the 'Prince.'—*Vicat. Vocab. Jur. Utr. tom. iv. Magistri Libellorum*, in inscriptione, l. un. D.—*De Off. Præf. Præt. l. un. C.*—*Theod. de Curs. Publ. qui supplices libellos a privatis oblatos tractabant*—'they whose business it was 'to examine the written petitions of private 'persons.'—They are also called *Carthopylaces et Libellani*. *Vicat. tom. iii.*—*Martial also, epig. 31, book viii.*

Sed jam supplicibus Dominum lassare libellis
Define—

'Cease to weary my Lord the Emperor with your
'petitions and requests.'

WHETHER James conferred any other mark of distinction upon him, we are entirely ignorant. Every one knows that monarch to have possessed no mean portion of learning, and to have treated men of science with distinguished regard,

regard. Certain it is, that to his liberality Bellendenus was indebted for a life of ingenuous retirement at Paris. Whilst he continued in that metropolis, he neither permitted his abilities to languish, nor was forgetful of the welfare of the community. Of these three books, he himself edited the second and third twice, and the first once. *Ciceronis Princeps* saw the light in 1608, under this title—‘*Ciceronis Princeps, rationes et concilia bene gerendi firmandique imperii: ex iis repetita, quæ ex Ciceronianis defluxere fontibus, in libros xvi. de statu rerum Romanarum, qui nondum lucem acceperunt. Parisiis, apud Carolum Chappelain, via Amygdalina, sub signo beatæ Mariæ, MDCLVIII.*’ To this first edition of *Ciceronis Princeps*, was prefixed ‘*Tractatus de Processu et Scriptoribus Rei Politicæ.*’ But in the three books *De Statu*, published in 1616, it preserves the place which we, desirous of faithfully treading in the steps of Bellendenus, have here assigned it.

THE first edition of Cicero’s *Consul* is introduced with this title—‘*Ciceronis Consul, Senator, Senatusque Romanus: illustratus publici observatione juris, gravissimi usus disciplina, administrandi temperatâ ratione: notatis inclinationibus temporum in Rep. et actis rerum in Senatu: quæ a Ciceroniana nondum edita profluxere memoria, annorum*

‘*DCCX.*

‘ dccc. congesta in libros xvi. De statu rerum
 ‘ Romanarum, unde jam manavit Ciceronis
 ‘ Princeps, dignus habitus summorum lectione
 ‘ principum. Ad inclytum serenissimumque
 ‘ Principem Henricum, Principem Scotiæ et
 ‘ Walliæ. Per G. Bellendenum, Magistrum
 ‘ Supplicum Libellorum augusti Regis Magnæ
 ‘ Britanniæ, &c. Parisiis, apud Joannem Cor-
 ‘ bon, e regione Ecclesiæ S. Hilarii, sub signo
 ‘ Cordis Boni, M.DC.XII. Cum Privilegio
 ‘ Regis.’

Extrait du Privilege du Roy.

TRES expresse inhibitions et deffences sont faites
 a tous, d'imprimer, ou exposer en vente, le livre in-
 titulé, ‘ Ciceronis Consul, Senator, Senatusque Roma-
 ‘ nus : per Gulielmum Bellendenum, Magistrum Sup-
 ‘ plicum Libellorum augusti Regis Magnæ Britanniæ,’
 durant le temps et espace de six ans, a commencer
 du jour qu'il sera acheve d'imprimer : si ce n'estoit de
 l'expresse permission et consentement dudit Bellenden ;
 a peine de confiscation des livres, dommages et inte-
 rests, et d'amende arbitraire : comme plus amplement
 est declare et contenu aux dites lettres du privilege, du
 5 Juillet, l'an de grace mil six cens douze.

Par le Roy en son Conseil.

Signé, DE VABRES.

Je soubs signé ay permis et permets a Jean Corbon,
 marchand libraire juré en c'este ville de Paris, de
 faire imprimer, et exposer en vente, le livre intitulé,
 ‘ Ciceronis Consul, Senator, Senatusque Romanus,’ par
 moy faict, et de jouyr et user plaïsement du benefice
 du

du privilege a moy sur ce octroyé par le Roy, le 5 du présent mois. Faict sous mon signé, le 14 Juillet 1612.

‘Hi duo libri in nomine apparuerunt serenissimi Principis Henrici.’

THE second edition was published in 1616, to which was added, ‘Liber de Statu Prisci Orbis,’ dedicated to Prince Charles, the surviving brother of Henry, which had been sent to the press in the year preceding.

MUCH as I disdain the affected importance of those, who make a prodigious disturbance about trifles, it is not beneath our attention to examine into the difficulties which exist concerning the particular period when Bellendenus first of all published his ‘Liber de Statu.’ In the title-page of the three books ‘De Statu,’ evidently published by Bellendenus in the year 1616, it is expressly said, ‘This book is now for the first time printed.’

BUT the date of the copy of this work, preserved in the British Museum, is 1615. The same date also occurs in the end of the dedication, which in the three books ‘De Statu,’ published in the year following, is subjoined to the tract ‘De Processu Rei Publicæ.’ Moreover, the last numeral 1, at the bottom of the title-page, seems added by the printer, after the numeral letters M. DC. XV. had been printed.

This

This at least is the case in all the copies which have come under my inspection.

I CONCEIVE, therefore, the matter with respect to Bellendenus to have been as follows: The 'Liber de Statu Prisci Orbis' was finished, to a certain degree, in 1615; a few copies of which the author dispersed, or presented to his friends, and some persons of distinction. The remaining copies, printed at the same time, were designedly kept back by Bellendenus, for some months, for the purpose of adding the two books, 'De Principe et Consule;' and completing, by these means, the whole and entire work, 'De Statu,' in one volume.

IN the copy of the book 'De Statu Prisci Orbis,' preserved in the British Museum, and also in that which, consisting of three books, the book 'De Statu' is placed first, there is the same number of pages, and the form preserved; except that the one in the Museum has not the tract 'De Processu Rei Politicæ,' which is prefixed to the other. For these reasons I asserted there were two editions of the book 'De Statu Prisci Orbis.' For that which I called the first edition, has a different title, and the royal privilege in a manner appropriate to itself; given, if I am not mistaken, to Bellendenus, after he had received the

the privilege of publishing the three books collectively.

IN the book 'De Statu Prisci Orbis,' published in 1615, there is this title prefixed :

'GULIELMI BELLENDENI, Magistri Supplicum cum Libellorum augusti Regis Magnæ Britannæ, &c. De Statu Prisci Orbis in Religione, Re Politicâ, et Literis, liber unus. Ad serenissimum Principem Carolum, Principem Scotiæ et Walliæ. Parisiis, apud Herveum du Mesnil, via S. Joannis Lateranensis, sub signo Bellerophontis Coronati, M.DC.XV. Cum Privilegio Regis.'

PAR lettres du grand seau, du 1 Juin 1615, defenses font faictes a tous d'imprimer ou vendre, soit par le tout ou partie, les livres entitulez, 'G. Bellendeni, &c. De Statu libri tres;' l'un desquels est celuy, 'De Statu Prisci Orbis,' &c. durent le temps de six ans: si ce n'est du consentement dudit Bellenden; a peine de confiscation des livres, dommages et interests, et d'amande arbitraire: comme il est plus amplement declaré par les dites lettres signées 'Le Liepure;' et en queue, 'D'Amboise.'

THE title of the book now edited by us, is as follows: 'Gulielmi Bellendeni, Magistri Supplicum Libellorum augusti Regis Magnæ Britannæ, &c. De Statu libri tres. 1. De Statu Prisci Orbis in Religione, Re Politicâ, et Litteris. 2. Ciceronis Princeps; five, De Statu

‘ Statu Principis et Imperii. 3. Ciceronis
 ‘ Consul, Senator, Senatusque Romanus; five,
 ‘ De Statu Reip. et Urbis imperantis Orbi.
 ‘ Primus nunc primum editus; cæteri, cum
 ‘ tractatu de Processu et Scriptoribus Rei Po-
 ‘ liticæ, ab Auctore aucti et illustrati. Parisiis,
 ‘ apud Herveum du Mesnil, via S. Joannis
 ‘ Lateranensis, sub signo Bellerophonis Co-
 ‘ ronati, M.DC.XVI. Cum Privilegio Regis.’

Extrait du Privilege du Roy.

TRES expresse inhibitions et deffenses sont faictes
 a tous, d'imprimer, ou exposer en vente, soit pour le
 tout ou partie, les livres intitulez, ‘ Gulielmi Bellen-
 ‘ deni, Magistri Supplicum Libellorum augusti Regis
 ‘ Magnæ Britannia, &c. De Statu libri tres.’ Le pre-
 ‘ mier, ‘ De Statu Prisci Orbis.’ Le second, ‘ Ciceronis
 ‘ Princeps; five, De Statu Principis.’ Le troisieme,
 ‘ Ciceronis Consul, Senator, Senatusque Romanus; five,
 ‘ De Statu Reip. et Urbis imperantis Orbi,’—durant
 le temps et espace de six ans, a commencer du jour que
 les dicts livres seront achevez d'imprimer: si ce
 n'estoit de l'expresse permission et consentement du-
 dict Bellenden; a peine des confiscation des livres,
 dommages et interets, et d'amende arbitraire: comme
 plus amplement est declare et contenu aux lettres du
 privilege du premier Juin, l'an de grace mil six cens
 douze.

Par le Roy en son Conseil.

Signé, LE LEIPURE.

Et signé en queue, D'AMBOISE.

THE

THE underwritten testimony of these books we have taken from Baverus: 'Bellendeni (Gul.) Ciceronis Consul, Senator, Senatusque Romanus. De Statu Libri Tres; videlicet, 1. De Statu Prisci Orbis in Religione, Re Politica, et Litteris. 2. Ciceronis Princeps; five, De Statu Principis et Imperii. 3. Ciceronis Consul, Senator, Senatusque Romanus, Libri rari, Widekind, p. 363.' tom. v. Baveri Biblioth. lib. rar. univ. five, tom. i. supplement. The above book was published at Norinberg, by John James Baverus, in 1770; but of these publications of Bellendenus, Baverus himself has not mentioned a syllable. The supplement, in two volumes, was published in 1774, from the first of which we have taken the authority above cited.

SAXIUS, in his excellent Onomasticon, writes thus: 'Ann. Dom. 1612, Gulielmus Bellendenus, gente Scotus, philologus et archæologus: hoc anno ipsi debebatur Ciceronis Consul, Senator, Senatusque Romanus, Parisiis, 8, et de Tribus Luminibus Romanorum liber. Parisiis 1633. fol. Vid. F. G. Freytag, Analecta Litteraria, p. 81. David Clement, Bibliothéque Curieuse, tom. iii. p. 71, 72, (50)—(52).' Tom. iv. p. 224.

THE authorities of Baverus and Saxius are exceedingly imperfect, and they neither of

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them

them appear to have employed the smallest attention concerning the order in which Bel-lendenus published his works. We have to inform our readers, that no mention is made of them, either by Morhofius, in his *Polyhistor*.—nor by Fabricius, in his *Biblioth. Latin. Med. et Infim. Ætat.*—nor yet in the ‘*Amœ-nitatibus Litterariis*,’ published in 1728 at Franckfort and Leipzig; notwithstanding the second, fifth, and eighth of these volumes discuss at length, and with considerable elegance, the subject of rare books. We likewise find no account of them in the ‘*Observationibus Litterariis Halæ Magdeburgicæ*,’ published in 1705; although, in the tenth volume of this work, there is a very learned and perspicuous dissertation on rare books.

VERY few copies are to be met with, either in private collections, or public libraries. The following is an account of such as are to be found in Cambridge:—Clare-Hall Library possesses the *Princeps Editio* of ‘*Ciceronis Consul*:’ that of Emanuel has the ‘*Tres Libri de Statu*:’ of this collection I have to observe, that it is excelled by none which have come within my knowledge, in books of the greatest merit, and most particular rarity. In the Public Library there are two copies of the *Princeps Editio* of ‘*Ciceronis Consul*,’ and one of the ‘*De Statu Tres Libri*.’

IN

IN the Bodleian Catalogue, published at Oxford in 1738, we find no account of them: That library, however, contains the Princeps Editio of the 'Ciceronis Princeps.' In the College of All Souls also, there is a copy of the 'Tres Libri de Statu.'

THE book, 'De Statu Prisci Orbis,' is in the British Museum, and I believe it formerly belonged to Charles the First.

A COPY of the 'Ciceronis Consul' is found in the King's private library, which, for its number and splendour of books, truly deserves the epithet of Royal, and may justly be compared to the literary treasures of the Ptolemys and Osmyandyas.

IN the Royal Library at Paris, there is one copy of the 'Tres Libri de Statu,' No. 1346: De Jurisprudentiâ.

THE reverend and very learned C. M. Cracherode, a trustee of the British Museum, possesses the book 'De Statu Prisci Orbis,' and the Princeps Editio of 'Ciceronis Consul.'

WE found two copies, which we procured with great eagerness, of the 'Tres Libri de Statu,' in the London catalogues of 1787.

No part of the 'Tres Libri de Statu,' which may well excite wonder, is to be found either in Hunter's Museum, or the Argyle Collection.

It may not be improper to inform the Reader, that "the Political Precepts given by "the August Father to his Son," alluded to by Bellendenus in his Preface to the 'Ciceronis 'Princeps,' was printed in London, under this title: 'Basilikon Doron; or, His Magesties 'Instructions to his dearest Sonne, Henrie the 'Prince. At London imprinted by Richard 'Field, for John Norton, according to the 'Copie printed at Edenburg, 1603.' It may also be worth while to inform the Readers of Bellendenus of another particular, which appears to me, at least, very probable—that the marginal references of that book are adapted 'to the Aldine Edition of Cicero; to which ' (if we may believe Nizolius) the editions of 'Pauli Minut. Aldi, F. et Uvendelin. Argentorat. in every instance correspond*.'

THOSE of Robert and Charles Stephens so minutely agree, that, after the strictest comparison, they may be easily mistaken for each other. It is notorious that, in the Aldine edition, there are seven orations against Verres; the first of which is that now termed, 'Divinatio in Q. Cæcilium.'

To the 'Libri de Statu' we have prefixed two Poems; a copy of which, in quarto, is to be seen in the British Museum.

* Nizol. Pref.

THE

THE candid Reader will not be displeased if we subjoin a few cursory remarks on the greater, but unfinished work of Bellendenus, 'De Tribus Luminibus Romanorum.'

WHISLT Bellendenus was employed in writing the three books which we now offer to the Public, he had Cicero constantly before him. His warmest attachment, therefore, and increasing admiration, were necessarily attracted to the character whose writings were the object of his unremitted attention; whose expressions were as familiar to him as possible, and whose various and profound learning occupied all the faculties of his soul. Perceiving that he possessed rich and abundant materials for future fame, he seems to have prepared himself for a far more difficult and splendid exertion. The stores which he had at hand, he most skilfully interwove in his new work, 'De Tribus Luminibus,' as far as that work goes. Death, as I have before remarked, prevented his collecting and arranging what related to Seneca and Pliny, and consequently interrupted the final accomplishment of his purpose. Every portion of what remains, bears ample testimony to his industrious vigilance, and superior genius. Whatever we find, in the different writings of Cicero, elegantly expressed, or acutely conceived, Bel-

lendenus has not only collected in one view, but elucidated in the clearest manner. He, therefore, who peruses this performance with the attention which it merits, will possess all the treasures of antiquity, all the energy of the brightest examples. He will obtain an adequate knowledge of the Roman law, and system of jurisprudence; and may draw, as from an inexhaustible source, an abundance of expressions, the most exquisite in their kind.

THE University of Oxford, not a great while ago, republished, in a very beautiful type, the works of Cicero, from Olivet's edition, increased and illustrated by the various readings of different manuscripts. Cambridge would most particularly gratify the learned world, if it would give, from the University Press, a new edition of the work of Bellendenus, so evidently calculated to preserve and extend the reputation of Cicero.

A VERY ingenious and most learned author* informs the public, that many copies of this book were lost at sea, in their passage to England: the 'Biblia Suefica Marci,' Ann. Dom. 1637, in octavo, shared a similar fate; as did also, 'Biblia Regia vel Polyglotta, Typis Plantinianis, 8 vol. printed in 1516.' We are also told of certain orations of James Criton, a very learned Scotchman, scattered

* Wharton's Life of Pope.

pieces of which only remain; but which, in the opinion of Gabriel Naudæus, are distinguished by all the sweetness and purity of eloquence. Whoever shall collect these together, and give them to the world, may claim the gratitude of literary men.

THERE was a time when the Scotch paid most particular attention to the cultivation of Greek and Latin literature: they were said to speak Latin with correctness, and indeed more classically than most of the English, who at that time resided in their 'Sparta,' as they termed it. To these studies, however, the fortune of the commonwealth became exceedingly inimical. The intercourse with the Muses gave way to the turbulence of the times, and vanished before the din and clamour of civil dissensions. Add to this, that many whose reputation for learning was exceedingly high, not chusing to attach themselves to party, or desirous of extending their literary attainments, or from motives of no disingenuous nature, retired from their country, whither they returned no more. No wonder, therefore, that the works of many writers of that country have perished; leaving not the smallest vestige behind them.

WE submit, however, the more patiently to the loss of many excellent books, from the brilliant prospect which Scotland, at the present

day, presents to every contemplative mind. Philosophy, till the present period, had not only made no considerable progress in Scotland, but seemed in a manner to lie in torpid inactivity; both that which involves the œconomy of life and morals, as well as that extensive and glorious system, which comprehends the region of metaphysics—which, passing by the streams of science, dares to penetrate and explore the mysteries of the parent fountain. This has lately excited the attention of their most learned individuals, and has been cultivated with the happiest success. So great is the light which it has received and communicated, that questions of the most abstruse and difficult nature have been repeatedly given to the world in the most adorned and perspicuous language. Those philosophers of antiquity, who, distinguished by their ingenuity and acuteness, were the pride, the oracles of their sects, appear to have the splendour of their talents obscured by the progressive improvements of posterity.

To enumerate the philosophic characters which in the space of a very few years have flourished in Scotland—to ascertain the extent of their learning, the variety and abundance of their studious pursuits—would be no easy undertaking. Neither have they separately laboured in the accomplishment of any individual

vidual object, but directed their industry and talents to whatever the human mind can obtain by perseverance, or elucidate by the powers of argumentation. Under their auspices that division of the sciences, which formerly took place under the sanction of Socrates, will be gradually forgotten; will imperceptibly give place to that union of eloquence and solid wisdom, which was the boast and delight of more remote antiquity. These indeed are the revolutions of the more exquisite arts; which, at one time, appear forcibly torn from each other; at another, amicably co-operating to one and the same purpose. This it is which fully justifies the remark of Cicero—‘When those powers of reason, employed in the investigation of causes and effects, shall have been exercised to their fullest extent, the consequence will be, a wonderful harmony and union of all science, and of all philosophy*.’ To this termination, those exercises of the mind, and delightful contentions of genius, manifestly tend, which now universally animate the ardour of Scotland in the noble pursuits of philosophy. These estimable men will give the truest testimonies of their wisdom, when they shall forsake those narrow limits in which they have too long been immured—when

* Cicero De Orat. lib. iii.

they

they shall leave the pursuit of uninstrueting subtleties, and verbal disquisitions, for better and for greater purposes—when they shall leave the confinement of the vale, to range over a wide and unobstructed plain—when they shall be at liberty to unfold all their abilities, and exercise their maturest vigour. Their productions may bid defiance to oblivion and to time. The fate which Bellendenus and Criton experienced, will never affect, with similar injuries, the writings of Smith or Hume, of Reid or Beatty.

My relief from the continued fatigue of a laborious situation, has been the perusal of Greek and Latin authors. The candid reader will therefore forgive me, if I shall be found to have used in this Preface such words or sentences, as, in the course of my reading, excited my more particular attention. My principal object being to recover this work of Bellendenus from the gloom of oblivion, I thought myself justified in doing what he had done before, more frequently, though with greater sagacity.

To the more remarkable passages of different authors, from which I have professedly borrowed sometimes elegant expressions, and sometimes entire sentences, I have made references in the margin. I have by no means done this to make a puerile and ostentatious parade

parade of extensive reading, but in imitation of the faithful diligence of Bellendenus; and that the motives of my partiality to such passages, might be seen in their fullest energy and extent. I should think myself more deserving of censure than commendation, were I to listen to the captious prejudices of those whom these reasons may not satisfy.

To what precise limits the imitation of the ancients ought to extend, I pretend not to determine. In matters of this kind, every one has his own particular taste to pursue, and judgment to satisfy. All words which are clear and significant, may, I think, properly be used in Latin composition. Merit of this kind is not to be decided from particular phrases or expressions, but from the general tenour and complexion of an entire performance. A seeming harshness may therefore, in my conception, be sometimes not only entitled to excuse, but praise; when the object is, to express an idea with appropriate accuracy.

In compositions like the present, it is, I think, of little importance, whether the writers whose words we may have adopted, flourished in the golden or silver age of Latinity. That appears to me most excellent, which is best adapted to the subject in question. They who exercise a sedulous perseverance in selecting terms which are abstruse and difficult—or they
who

who gratify the ear at the expence of somewhat more essentially valuable—although they do not provoke my severe displeasure, do certainly not excite my strenuous imitation. It is the remark of Cellarius, ‘That, as we possess but few writers of the golden age, Latinity would be in a manner sterile, if we denied our praise to all but Cicero and his contemporaries. We may fairly call to our assistance the silver age which followed, from which we borrow words new indeed, but no less elegant, and for which we have the sanction and authority of the Roman people*.’

THAT I have used the words ‘textus,’ ‘margo,’ and others of a similar nature, without apology, ought not to offend even those who pride themselves on their superior correctness, and more polished judgments. But why on so trifling an occasion do I use so serious a style? Because fastidious and malignant persons take wonderful delight in these hypercriticisms, not knowing what the learned Henry Stephens has argued, with great acuteness, on this very subject. That ingenious scholar remarks, that ‘those ears must be delicate indeed, which cannot bear such expressions; particularly, when others are not to be met with†.’

* Cellarii Curæ Posteriores.

† Pseudo Cicero.

THAT I have occasionally introduced Greek words in my Latin composition, was not, I can assure the Reader, because I thought them essential to ornament or to elegance; nor was it to excite admiration from being thought profound; for it is, in fact, what a child in Greek learning might have done likewise. The ideas I had in my mind, seemed frequently and minutely to correspond with what I had been reading: and I was farther inclined to hope, that what had been expressed in Greek with singular beauty, would not, when inserted in my production, appear like gaudy and unbecoming trappings, but rather as marks of distinction, and aids to perspicuity. It would be preposterous to imagine that they, who are conversant with the Greek language, would be better pleased to see Greek terms translated into Latin.

SOME, perhaps, may be inquisitive to know why I have distinguished a certain young man, of exalted station, by a Greek appellation. I have, in this instance, imitated the example of Nicholas Heinsius; who, in his letters to Gronovius, frequently calls Gevartius 'Ο Δείνα,' avoiding, in testimony of contempt, to give him his proper name.

LET no one imagine that, either in the delivery of my own sentiments, or in the republication of the works of Bellendenus, I had the most

most distant intention of making either myself, or them, subjects of popular animadversion.

THIS work of Bellendenus will, beyond all doubt, gratify men of literary leisure: but I do not wish it to languish in the hands of those, whose daily and vernacular speech betrays the loquacious discipline of their youth; who, though most profoundly ignorant, talk boldly and pompously, in a vulgar dialect, about learning.

THE size of the volume is certainly increased by the Preface, but so as not at all to interfere with its price. I had not thought of writing it, till after I had positively agreed with the printer about the whole expence of the impression, the copper plates, and price of the book. All that relates to Bellendenus I had finished about the end of October.

THE reading, however, of these books had left a strong impression on my fancy, which was indeed the unavoidable consequence of the variety, as well as dignity, with which they treat of the art of politics. Many things also occurred, which seemed so particularly apposite with respect to our constitution, that I could not resist the temptation of committing them to paper: so it happened that what was trifling in its commencement, progressively increased to the present size.

WHE-

WHETHER I have done well or ill, purposely discussing a subject full of difficulty and danger, gives me but little concern, if Bel-
lendenus be but restored to that rank amongst
his fellow-citizens, of which he has been so
long and so unjustly deprived.

London, 1787.

F I N I S .



